

THE  
A G E  
O F  
LOUIS XV.

Being the Sequel of the Age of

LOUIS XIV.

Translated from the French of

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

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V O L. II.

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# T A B L E

O F

## C O N T E N T S

T O T H E

S E C O N D V O L U M E.

C H A P. XXIV.

*T H E Enterprise, Victories, Defeat,  
and deplorable Misfortunes of Prince  
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T H E

AGE OF LOUIS XV.

CHAP. XXIV.

*The Enterprize, Victories, Defeat, and  
deplorable Misfortunes of Prince  
CHARLES-EDWARD STUART.*

PRINCE Charles-Edward was the son of him whom they stiled the pretender, or the chevalier St. George. It is well known that his grand-father had been dethroned by the English; his great grand-father was condemned to the block by his own subjects; and



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his great great grand-mother underwent the same sentence from the parliament of England. This last scion of so many kings, and victims, wasted his youth in retirement at Rome, with his father. He had more than once expressed a desire to expose his life to regain the throne of his fathers. He had been called into France since the year 1742, and had made some fruitless attempts to land in England. He now waited at Paris some favourable opportunity; while France was exhausting herself of men and money in Germany, in France, and in Italy. All thoughts of him had been buried during the vicissitudes of this universal war: he was a sacrifice to the public calamities of the times.

This

This prince discoursing one day with cardinal *Tencin*, who owed his promotion in the sacred college to the interest of the chevalier de St. George, the cardinal said to him, " Why do  
 " not you attempt to pass over to the  
 " north of Scotland in some vessel;  
 " your presence alone will form you  
 " a party and an army, and then  
 " France must assist you."

This bold advice, corresponding with the bravery of Charles-Edward, he determined to follow it. He imparted his design only to seven officers, part Irish, and part Scotch, who agreed to share his fate. One of them applied to one Mr. Walth, a merchant at Nants, and the son of an Irishman, in the interest of the house of Stuart. This merchant had a fri-

#### 4 THE AGE OF

gate which mounted eighteen guns, on board of which the prince embarked the 12th of June 1745, equipped for an expedition (whose object was no less than the crown of Great-Britain) with only seven officers, about eighteen hundred sabres, twelve hundred muskets, and forty-eight thousand livres. The frigate was convoyed by a man of war of sixty-four guns, named the Elizabeth, which had been fitted out at Dunkirk to cruize as a privateer. It was the custom, at this time, for the minister of the marine to lend the king's ships to merchants, and other adventurers, who payed a certain sum for them to the king, and maintained the crew, at their expence, during the cruize. Neither the minister of the marine, nor yet the king of France  
knew

knew any thing of the destination of this ship.

On the 20th of June the Elizabeth, and the frigate sailing along together, met with three English men of war, convoying a fleet of merchant-men. The largest of these ships mounting seventy guns, separated from the rest to engage the Elizabeth, and it was a most fortunate circumstance, which seemed to presage success to prince Edward, that this frigate was not attacked. The Elizabeth and the English ship maintained a long, violent and useless engagement. The frigate, which carried the grandson of James II. escaped, and crowded all her sails for Scotland \*.

\* One of the principal parties in the enterprise, assured me of this circumstance.

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The first place the prince touched at was a small island almost a desert, beyond Ireland towards the fifty-eighth degree; it is a kind of girdle to the continent of Scotland. He landed in a district, called, the Moidart: some of the inhabitants, to whom he made himself known, fell on their knees; but what shall we do? said they to him; we have no arms; we are in extreme indigence; we live only upon oatmeal bread; and we cultivate an ungrateful soil. "I will till that ground  
 " with you, I will eat of the same  
 " bread, I will share your poverty,  
 " and I bring you arms."

The effect of such sentiments on these people may be easily conceived. He was joined by some chiefs of the tribes of Scotland. Those of the name  
 of



of Macdonald, of Lochiel, the Camerons, and the Frasers, came in search of him.

These tribes of Scotland, who are called clans in the Scotch language, inhabit a country of more than two hundred miles in extent, covered with mountains and forests. The thirty-three isles of the Orcades are inhabited by this set of people, all subject to one form of government. The ancient Roman military dress is preserved by them alone, as has been already remarked in speaking of the regiment of Scotch mountaineers, who fought at the battle of Fontenoy. One may conceive that the rigour of the climate, and their extreme poverty inure them to the greatest fatigues: they sleep on the bare ground; they endure hunger;

## 8 THE AGE OF

they make long marches in the midst of frost and snow. Each clan was in subjection to its *laird*, that is to say, its lord, who exercised an absolute power over it; a power which no English lord possesses; and they were commonly of the party embraced by their lairds.

This ancient anarchy, which is called the *feudal law*, subsisted in this poor, sterile part of Great-Britain, which was abandoned to its own customs. The inhabitants, without any employment which could procure them a comfortable subsistence, were always ready to run headlong into any enterprise that flattered them with the hopes of booty. This was not the case in Ireland, a more fertile country, and better governed by the court of London,



don, and in which they had given great encouragement to husbandry and manufactures. The Irish began to be more firmly attached to the quiet enjoyment of their property than to the house of Stuart. These were the reasons that Ireland was quiet and Scotland in commotion.

Ever since the union of the kingdom of Scotland with that of England, in the reign of queen Ann, several Scotch gentlemen, who were not chosen members of the parliament at London, nor restrained in the service of the court by pensions, were secretly devoted to the house of Stuart; and, in general, the inhabitants of the northern parts of Scotland, rather subdued than united, murmured at this union, and regarded it as a kind of slavery.

The

The clans of the lairds, in the interest of the court, as were the dukes of Argyle, of Athol, of Queensbury, and several others, remained faithful to the government; a great number of private persons, however, must be excepted, who were fired with the enthusiasm of their countrymen, and were soon engaged to take the part of a prince, who derived his origin from their country, and who excited their zeal and admiration.

The seven persons whom the prince had taken with him were, the marquis of Tullabardine, brother to the duke of Athol, Macdonald, Sheridan, Sullivan, appointed quarter-master to an army they had not yet raised, Kelly an Irishman, and Strickland an Englishman.

They

They had not yet assembled three hundred men about his person, when they made a royal standard of a piece of taffety, which Sullivan had brought over. Every instant this troop increased; and the prince had not passed the village of Fenning before he saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred fighting men, whom he armed with muskets and sabres. He sent the frigate back to France to inform the king of France and Spain of his landing. These two monarchs wrote to him, and stiled him *brother*; not that they solemnly acknowledged him as heir to the crown of Great-Britain, but when writing to him they could not refuse this compliment, due to his birth, and to his valour. They sent him supplies, at different times, of  
men,

men, ammunition and arms. These succours were obliged to pass by stealth through the English fleets, which cruised to the east and to the west of Scotland. Some were taken, others arrived safe, and served to encourage the party which grew stronger every day. No season could appear more favourable for a revolution. King George was absent from England, and there were not six thousand regular troops in the whole kingdom. Some companies of the regiment of Sinclair marched immediately to the environs of Edinburgh against the prince's small troop; they were entirely defeated. Thirty Highlanders took eighty of the English prisoners, with their officers and baggage.

This

This first success increased the hopes and the courage of the party, and gained them new foldiers from all quarters. They continued their march without intermission. Prince Edward always on foot at the head of his mountaineers, cloathed like them, eating as they did, traversed the countries of Badinoch, of Athol, and of Perthshire, and seized on Perth, a considerable town in Scotland. Here he was solemnly proclaimed regent of England, France, Scotland and Ireland, for his father James III. This title of regent of France, which a prince arrogated to himself, who was scarce master of a little Scotch town, and who could not support himself but by the assistance of the king of France, was, in consequence of an astonishing custom which  
has



has prevailed, that the kings of England take the title of kings of France, a custom which ought to be abolished, yet it still subsists, because men never think of reforming abuses, till they become important and dangerous. The duke of Perth and lord George Murray arrived at this time at Perth, and swore allegiance to the prince. They brought with them new troops: a whole company of a Scotch regiment, in the service of the court, deserted to range themselves under his banners. He takes Dundee, Drummond, Newbourg: a council of war is held: opinions are divided with respect to the route: the prince was for marching directly to Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland. But how could he form any hopes of taking Edinburgh with so small an army,

army, and no cannon? He had partizans in the city; but all the citizens were not for him: “ It will be sufficient to shew myself, to make them all declare for me,” says the prince; and, without loss of time, he marches to the capital; on his arrival, he seizes the gate: the whole city is in alarm; some were for acknowledging the heir of their ancient kings; others adhered to the government. A general pillage is apprehended: the most opulent citizens transport their effects to the castle; governor Gueft retires there with his garrison consisting of four hundred men: the magistrates come to the gates of which Charles-Edward was master. The provost, named Stuart, who was suspected to hold intelligence with him, appeared before



## THE AGE OF

before him, and with a countenance of dismay, asked him what he was to do ; fall on your knees, replied an inhabitant, and acknowledge him : he was immediately proclaimed in the capital. In the mean time, a price was set upon his head at London : the lords of the regency, during the absence of king George, caused it to be proclaimed, that they would give thirty thousand pounds sterling, to whoever should deliver it. This proscription was conformable to an act of parliament made in the seventeenth year of the king's reign, and to other acts of the same parliament. Queen Ann had been forced to proscribe her own brother ; to whom, in her latter days, she would have left her crown, if she could have followed her own  
sen-

sentiments. She had offered four thousand pounds for his head, and the parliament fixed it at eighty thousand.

If such a proscription is a maxim of state, it is a very difficult one to reconcile with those principles of moderation, which all courts take a pride in professing. Prince Charles-Edward might have made a similar proclamation; but he endeavoured to strengthen his cause, and to render himself more respectable by opposing, some months after to those sanguine proscriptions, manifestoes, in which he forbid his adherents to attempt the person of the reigning king, or of any prince of the house of Hanover: besides, his chief business was to think only how he might make the most advantage of the first ardour of his party, which he

could not suffer to cool. Scarce was he master of Edinburgh when he learnt that he might come to an engagement, and he prepared for it as fast as possible. He knew that general Cope was advancing against him ; that the militia was raising in all parts ; that regiments were forming in England ; that others were sent for home from Flanders : in fine, that he had not a moment to lose. He quits Edinburgh, not leaving a single soldier in it, marches with about three thousand Highlanders towards the English, who were to the number of four thousand, and had two regiments of dragoons. The prince's cavalry consisted only of some sumpter horses. He neither gave himself the time nor the trouble to send for his field-pieces :  
he

he knew that the enemy had fix; but nothing stopt him: he came up with the enemy at Preston-pans, about seven miles from Edinburgh: he was scarce arrived, when he ranged his little army in order of battle. The duke of Perth and lord George Murray commanded one the right, and the other the left wing of the army, that is to say, each about seven or eight hundred men. Charles-Edward had so strong an idea of conquest, that before he charged the enemy, he remarked a defile by which they might retreat, and sent five hundred Highlanders to take possession of it: thus he engaged with only two thousand five hundred men, having not so much as a second line of battle, nor a corps de reserve: he drew his sword, and flinging the

scabbard at some distance from him,  
“ My companions, says he, I will not  
“ sheath it again till you are free  
“ and happy.” He had got possession  
of the field of battle almost as soon as  
the enemy, and he did not give them  
time to make a discharge of their ar-  
tillery. His whole force marched up  
rapidly to the English, without keeping  
their ranks, making use of bagpipes in-  
stead of trumpets ; they fired at about  
twenty paces from the enemy, then  
threw down their muskets, and hold-  
ing their targets with one hand over  
their heads, they rushed in between  
the infantry and the cavalry, stabbing  
the horses, and attacking the soldiers  
with their sabres. Every thing that  
is new and unexpected terrifies : this  
unusual way of fighting, frightened the  
Eng-



English ; strength of body, which is not at present of any use in other battles, was of great service in this : the English gave way on all sides without making any resistance ; eight hundred were slain ; the rest fled to the place the prince had noticed, and there fourteen hundred were taken prisoners. Every thing fell into the hands of the conqueror ; he formed a body of cavalry with the horses of the enemy's dragoons. General Cope was obliged to fly ; the nation murmured at him ; he was tried by a court-martial, for not concerting his measures properly ; but he was acquitted, and it incontestibly appeared that what decided the battle was, the presence of a prince who inspired his party with unbounded confidence, but chiefly the new man-

ner of fighting which astonished the English: this was an advantage which almost always succeeds the first time, and which the commanders of armies perhaps do not sufficiently attend to.

Prince Edward lost only sixty men in this engagement. The only difficulty attending his victory was how to dispose of his prisoners, who were nearly equal in number to their conquerors. Having no places of security he released them on their parole, after swearing them not to take up arms against him in the space of twelve months. He only kept the wounded to take care of them; and this magnanimity gained him new adherents.

A few days after this victory a French and a Spanish ship arrived upon the coasts, and brought him money, and  
fresh



fresh hopes: there were some Irish officers in these vessels who had served in France and in Spain, and were qualified to discipline his troops. The French vessel brought him a private envoy \* from the king of France, who landed at the port of Montrose on the 11th of October with money and arms. The prince returned to Edinburgh, and saw his army soon after augment to near six thousand men: order began to be established as well among his troops as in his domestic affairs. He had a court, officers and secretaries of state; he was supplied with money from thirty miles round the country: no enemy appeared; but he wanted

\* The brother of the marquis d'Argens, well known in the literary world: he has since been president of the parliament of Aix.

the castle of Edinburgh, the only place of real strength, which might serve him for a magazine, and for a retreat in case of necessity, besides keeping the capital in awe. The castle of Edinburgh is built upon a steep rock; it has a large fossë cut in the rock, and walls twelve feet thick. The place, although irregular in itself, requires a regular siege, and above all heavy cannon. The prince had not any; he therefore found himself under a necessity to permit the city to make an agreement with general Gueft, by which the city engaged to supply the castle with provisions, on condition that the castle should not fire on the city.

This sinister event, however, did not seem to derange his affairs. The court  
of

of London began to be greatly afraid of him, since it endeavoured to render him odious in the eyes of the people. It reproached him for being born a Roman catholic, and accused him of coming to overturn the religion and laws of the country : on his part he continually protested that the church of England, and the presbyterians should have no more to fear from him, although bore a Roman catholic, than from king George who was born a Lutheran. Not so much as a single priest appeared at his court ; he did not so much as require that they should name him in the public prayers in the parish-churches, but contented himself with their using a general prayer for the king and the royal family, without indicating any person.

The

The king of England had returned in great haste on the 11th of September to oppose the progress of the revolution; the loss of the battle of Preston-pans alarmed him to such a degree that he did not think himself strong enough to resist it with the the English militia. Several of the nobility raised regiments at their own expence in his favour; and the whig party, in particular, which is the prevailing party in England, made a point of preserving the government it had established, and the family it had placed on the throne; but king George reflecting that, if prince Edward should receive fresh succours, and have further success, these very militia might turn against himself. He exacted a new oath from the militia of London: this oath of fidelity

fidelity was couched in these very  
 terms : “ I abhor, I detest, I reject  
 “ as an impious opinion, that dam-  
 “ nable doctrine, That princes ex-  
 “ communicated by the pope, may  
 “ be deposed and assassinated by their  
 “ subjects, or any other persons what-  
 “ ever, &c.” But there was no ques-  
 tion of excommunication, nor of the  
 pope in this affair ; and as for assassi-  
 nation, they could hardly apprehend  
 any other, but that which had been  
 publicly proposed, with a reward of  
 thirty thousand pounds sterling. Ac-  
 cording to the custom established in  
 times of trouble, since the reign of Wil-  
 liam III. all the Roman catholic priests  
 were ordered to depart from London,  
 and its environs. But it was not the  
 catholic priests they had occasion to  
 dread ;



dread; those who professed that religion did not make an hundredth part of the people; it was the valour of prince Edward; it was the intrepidity of a victorious army, animated by unexpected success. King George was obliged to send for six thousand of his troops in Flanders, and to demand six thousand more of the Dutch, in virtue of treaties subsisting with their republic.

The states-general sent him the very troops, which, by the capitulation of Tournay and Dendermond, could not serve in less than eighteen months. They had promised not to engage in any service, not even in the most distant towns of the frontiers; and the states justified this infraction by saying, that England was not a frontier. They  
were



were obliged to lay down their arms before the French troops, but it was alledged that they were not going to fight against the French; they were not to enter into any foreign service; it was answered, that, in effect, they were not in any foreign services, since they were subject to the orders, and received the pay of the states-general.

By such distinctions as these, the capitulation which was as distinct as possible, but in which a case, which no one foresaw could not be specified, was eluded.

Although there happened at this time sundry other great events, I shall pursue that of the revolution of England, and the order of affairs shall be preferred to the order of time, which will not suffer by it. Nothing serves

to

to prove the strength of alarms so much as an excess of precautions.

I cannot forbear mentioning, in this place, an artifice made use of to render the person of Charles-Edward odious in London: an imaginary journal was printed, in which a comparison was made between the events related in the news-papers, under the government of king George, with those which they supposed would be recorded in these papers, under the domination of a catholic prince.

“ At present, said they, our news-  
 “ papers, at one time, give us an ac-  
 “ count of the treasures carried to  
 “ the bank, which have been taken  
 “ from French and Spanish ships; at  
 “ another, that we have demolished  
 “ Porto-bello, that we have taken  
 “ Lou-

“ Louisbourg, and are masters of the  
 “ commerce of the globe. Now let  
 “ us see what the papers will mention  
 “ under the administration of the pre-  
 “ tender: this day he was proclaimed  
 “ in all parts of London by high-  
 “ landers and friars; several houses  
 “ have been burnt, and a number of  
 “ citizens massacred.

“ The 4th, The South-sea house  
 “ and India-house were converted into  
 “ convents.

“ The 20th, Six members of par-  
 “ liament were sent to prison.

“ The 26th, Three of the ports of  
 “ England were delivered up to the  
 “ French.

“ The 28th, The law of *Habeas*  
 “ *Corpus* was abolished; and a new  
 “ act passed for burning heretics.

“ The

“ The 29th, Father Poignardini, an  
 “ Italian jesuit, was made keeper of  
 “ the privy-seal.”

In the mean time, the law of habeas-corpus was actually suspended on the 28th of October. This law is regarded as a fundamental one in England, and the bulwark of the freedom of the nation: by this law, the king cannot cause any citizen to be imprisoned longer than twenty-four hours; he must then be examined and released without bail 'till his trial is ready; and if he has been arrested unjustly, the secretary of state may be made to pay dearly for every hour of his confinement.

The king has not a right to cause any member of parliament to be arrested, on any pretence whatever,  
 without

without the consent of the house. The parliament in times of rebellion suspends all these laws by a particular act, and gives the king a power to seize all suspected persons during such times only. No member of either house furnished the least pretext for an arrest. Some, however, were suspected by the public to be Jacobites, and several of the citizens of London were tacitly of that party. But not one would hazard his life and fortune on uncertain hopes; mistrust and inquietude agitated every mind: every one was afraid to speak. It is a crime in this country to drink to the health of a proscribed prince who pretends to the crown, as it was formerly at Rome under the reigning emperor, to keep the statues of his competitor in their houses. They drank at Lon-



don to the health of the king and the prince, which might mean either king James, and his son prince Charles-Edward, or king George, and his eldest son the prince of Wales. The secret abettors of the revolution contented themselves with publishing writings, so cautiously worded, that their party might easily understand them, while the government could not condemn them. A great many of this sort were distributed; and one among others, in which it was advertised, "That there  
" was a young man of great expecta-  
" tions, who was on the point of ma-  
" king a considerable fortune; that  
" in a short time he had made twenty  
" thousand pounds, but was in want  
" of friends to establish himself at  
" London." The liberty of the press  
is



is one of those privileges of which the English are extremely jealous. The law of the land does not permit assembling and haranguing the people; but it allows of conversing with the whole nation in writing. The government caused all the printing-offices to be searched, but having no right to shut up any except a crime is proved against them, they let them alone.

The consternation was manifest at London, when the news arrived that prince Edward had taken Carlisle, that his army increased, and, at length, that he was at Derby about thirty leagues from London; it was now that he had national Englishmen in his troops; three hundred inhabitants of the county of Lancaster enlisted into his Manchester regiment: mean time report,

which always augments things, made his army thirty thousand strong. It was rumoured that the whole county of Lancaster had declared for him. The shops and the bank at London were shut up for a whole day.

## CHAP. XXV.

*The Continuation of the Adventures of  
Prince CHARLES-EDWARD. His  
Defeat; his Misfortunes, and those  
of his Party.*

FROM the day that prince Edward landed in Scotland, his officers solicited France for succours in their enterprize; and the greater his progress, the more pressing were their solicitations. Some Irish officers in the French service were of opinion, that a descent into England towards Plymouth would be practicable. The passage from Calais or Boulogn to these coasts is short: they did not approve of a fleet of war for this expedition, as much time would

be lost in the equipment, and the preparations alone give the English squadron timely notice to oppose their landing. They pretended that they could land 8 or 10,000 men, with their cannon in the night; that only some merchant-ships and a few privateers were wanted for such an attempt; and they maintained that a party in England would join the French army as soon as they were disembarked, and that they might soon after unite with the prince's troops near London. In short, they represented it as an easy and complete revolution, demanding the duke de Richlieu to head this enterprize, who, by his signal services at the battle of Fontenoy, and the great reputation he had in Europe, was better qualified than any other general  
for

for conducting, with proper spirit, this bold and delicate affair. They intreated so much that at last their demand was granted. Colonel Lally, who was afterwards lieutenant-general, and came to so tragical an end, was the soul of this enterprize. The writer of this history, who was connected with him a long time, can affirm, that he never saw a man more zealous, and that his failure in this enterprize arose only from its impracticability. They could not put openly to sea to face the English squadron, and this project was regarded in a very ridiculous light at London.

Some small succours only of men and money could be sent over to the prince, and that by the way of the German ocean, and the east of Scotland. Lord Drummond, brother to the duke



of Perth, an officer in the French service, opportunely arrived with some pickets and three companies of the royal Scotch regiment. When he landed at Montrose he immediately published, That he was come by order of the king of France, to succour his ally the prince of Wales, regent of Scotland, and to make war against the king of England, elector of Hanover. The Hollanders, who, by their capitulation could not serve against the king of France, were forced to adhere to the law of arms, which had been a long time eluded, and to remain neuter; they were, therefore, sent back to Holland, and the English court sent for six thousand Hessians in their place: this necessity for foreign troops was a confession of the danger in which they  
thought



thought themselves. The pretender distributed fresh manifestoes in the north and in the west of England, by which he invited the nation to join him, declaring that the prisoners of war should be treated as his own men, and expressly renewed to his officers, his prohibitions of attempting the life of the reigning king, or those of his family. These proclamations, which appeared so generous in a prince, on whose head they set a reward, met with a fate which nothing but state-policy can justify:—they were burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

It was of more importance and greater necessity to oppose the progress of the pretender than burn his manifestoes. The English militia retook

took Edinburgh, and another party covering the county of Lancaster, cut off his supplies, which obliged him to retreat. His army was sometimes strong, sometimes weak, because he had not the means of securing the fidelity of his troops by an exact payment; yet about eight thousand men still remained with him. Scarce was the prince informed that the enemy was within six miles of him, near Falkirk marshes, than he flew to attack them, altho' they were almost as many again in number, engaging in the same manner, and with the same impetuosity as at Preston-pans. His Highlanders, still encouraged by a terrible storm which blew right in the faces of the English, directly put them in disorder; but soon after they were broke by their

their own impetuosity: six pickets of the French troops covered them, maintained the battle, and gave them time to rally. Prince Edward always said, that if he had three thousand regular troops, he should have made himself master of all England.

The English dragoons began the flight, and the whole army followed, regardless of the commands of the generals and officers, and regained their camp in the dusk of the evening, which was entrenched and almost surrounded by a morass.

The prince, remaining master of the field of battle, instantly took the resolution of attacking them in their camp, notwithstanding the storm continued with redoubled violence. The Highlanders lost some time in finding their

their muskets in the dark, which, according to custom, they had thrown away in the action. He then began the march to give a second battle, and penetrated, sword-in-hand, almost to the enemy's camp: universal terror prevailed, and the English troops, beaten twice in one day, although with little loss, fled to Edinburgh, having not quite six hundred men killed in this battle, but left their tents and baggage in the enemy's power: these victories greatly redounded to the prince's honour, but contributed little to his interest. The duke of Cumberland marched into Scotland, and arrived the 10th of February at Edinburgh; prince Edward was obliged to raise the siege of Stirling castle, the winter was extremely

severe

severe, and subsistence failed. His chief resource was in the assistance of a few friends, who made excursions, sometimes on the side of Inverness, and at others, towards Aberdeen, to collect the few troops, and the little money that they ventured to supply him with from France. The greatest of the vessels, sent to him with succours, were watched and taken by the English fleet: three companies of Fitz-James's regiment luckily found means to escape and land: whenever a little vessel arrived, it was received, by the inhabitants of the north, with the loudest acclamations of joy; the women ran to meet the troops, and led the officers horses by their bridles. The smallest succours in these circumstances were reported to be

con-



considerable reinforcements; but his army was not less pressed by the duke of Cumberland. They were retired into Inverness, and all the country did not side with him; the duke at last crossed the river Spey, and marched towards Inverness; and a decisive battle could not be avoided.

The prince had nearly the same number of troops as at the battle of Falkirk, and the duke of Cumberland had fifteen battalions and nine squadrons, besides a corps of Highlanders. The advantage, in point of numbers, was continually and unavoidably on the side of the English, who had also a cavalry and an artillery well served, which were still greater advantages; and they were at last accustomed to the Highlanders manner of fighting, which



which no longer intimidated them. They had likewise to repair, under the eyes of the duke, the shame of their former defeats. The duke gained the battle by making every other rank reserve their fire, so that after the rebels had fired and flung down their muskets, they closed in with their broad-swords as usual, and were received by the duke's troops with a reserved fire, when they advanced up to the very muzzles of their guns: it was great generalship; the two armies came in sight of each other on the 27th of April at two o'clock in the afternoon, at a place called Culloden. The Highlanders did not make the attack in the usual manner, which had been so dreadful; the battle was entirely lost; and the prince slightly wounded,

wounded, was carried off the field in the most precipitate manner. Time and place constitute the importance of an action : in the present war, in Germany, in Italy, and in Flanders, battles have been fought with near one hundred thousand men, which had no great consequences ; but here an action between only eleven thousand on one side, and seven thousand on the other, decided the fate of three kingdoms. In this engagement, not more than nine hundred of the rebels (the appellation which their miscarriage in Scotland fixed on them) were slain, and three hundred and twenty were made prisoners. The vanquished fled to the neighbourhood of Inverness, and were pursued by the conquerors. The pretender, accompanied by an hundred

dred officers, was obliged to jump into a river, three miles from Inverness, and to swim over it. When he had gained the other side he saw, afar off, the flames of a barn, in which perished between five and six hundred Highlanders, the conqueror having set fire to it, and heard their cries.

Prince Edward had several women in his army: one among the rest, whose name was Seford, fought at the head of the Scotch troops she brought to his assistance, and escaped the pursuit; but four others were taken. All the French officers were made prisoners of war, and he who transacted the business of French minister to the prince, surrendered himself prisoner at Inverness. The English had only fifty men killed, and two hundred

and fifty-nine wounded in this decisive affair.

The duke of Cumberland distributed five thousand pounds sterling (making about one hundred and twenty thousand French livres) to the soldiers : this was money that he had received from the mayor of London ; it was the gift of some citizens, and had been presented to him for this very purpose : this singularity is a farther testimony that the richest party must be victorious. Not a moment's repose was given to the vanquished, but they were every where closely pursued ; the common soldiers easily retired to their inaccessible mountains and desarts ; the officers found it more difficult to escape ; some were betrayed and delivered up to the conqueror ; others surrendered.

dered themselves in hopes of pardon. Prince Edward, Sullivan, Sheridan, and some others of his adherents, retired at first to the ruins of fort Augustus, which they were soon obliged to quit; the farther he retreated, the more he observed the decrease of his friends; a spirit of discord seized them, and they reproached each other with their common misfortunes: in all disputes, concerning the measures they should take, they exasperated each other; several of them withdrew, and of all those, who accompanied him from France, only Sheridan and Sullivan remained with him. With them he marched five days and nights without taking one moment's repose, and often wanting nourishment. His enemies traced him; all the environs



were filled with soldiers upon the search after him; and a price set upon his head was a spur to their diligence. The horrors of his fate entirely resembled that to which his great Uncle, Charles the second, was reduced after the battle of Worcester, as fatal as that of Culloden. There has been no example upon earth of such a chain of calamities, so irregular and horrible, as those which afflicted all his house; he himself was born in exile, and he quitted it only to bring his party, after some victories, either to the scaffold, or to the necessity of hiding themselves in mountains. His father, driven in his infancy from the royal palace, and from the throne of which he had been acknowledged the lawful heir, had, like him,



him, made several efforts to regain his throne, which had all terminated in the punishment of his followers. All this long succession of singular misfortunes continually presented itself to the mind of this prince, yet he did not despair; he marched on foot without dressing his wounds, without any succours, through the midst of his enemies, and arrived at last in a little port, named Arizaig, in the north-west of Scotland.

Fortune at this moment seemed to administer comfort to him: two privateers of Nantz sailed towards this port, and brought him men, money, and provisions; but before they had landed, the continual searches made after his person, obliged him to quit that only spot where, then, he might

have found safety; and they were but a few miles from the port, when he was informed that these vessels had anchored and set sail again: his losing this opportunity aggravated his misfortunes, and he was continually obliged to fly, and to secret himself. O'Neal, one of his partisans, an Irish officer in the Spanish service, who joined him in these cruel circumstances, told him, that he might find a safe retreat in a little neighbouring isle, call'd *Stornway*, the last island to the north-east of Scotland. They embarked in a fishing-boat, and arrived at this asylum; but they were hardly on shore when they understood, that a detachment of the duke of Cumberland's army was in the island. The prince and his friends were obliged to pass the night

night in a moor, to elude so close a pursuit, and at break of day ventured to re-enter their boat, and put out to sea without any provisions, or knowing what course to steer. They had hardly rowed two miles, when they were surrounded by the enemy's fleet.

Their only means of preservation was to run a-ground between the rocks, upon the borders of an almost inaccessible island, and little desert. What, at other times, has been regarded as the most cruel misfortune, was to them their only resource: they hid their boat behind a rock, and in this desert waited either the departure of the English fleet, or the arrival of death to put a finishing stroke to such a complication of disasters. Nothing was left the prince; his friends, and

the sailors, but a little brandy to sustain their miserable lives; but by chance they found some dried fish, which the fishermen, driven off by storms, had left upon the shore. When the English fleet disappeared, they rowed from isle to isle, and at last gained that very island on which he first landed on his arrival from France: here he found a little succour and repose, but this small consolation lasted him not long; the duke of Cumberland's troops arrived at this new asylum in about three days after him, and death or captivity appeared inevitable: he with his two companions, secreted themselves three days and three nights in a cave, and thought themselves happy to escape, and embark for another desert isle, where they remained eight days

days upon some provisions of barley-bread, brandy, and a few salt-fish.

To depart this island, and endeavour to regain Scotland, was running into the hands of the English, who lined the sea-coast; but they must either hazard this, or perish with hunger.

They concluded upon the former; put to sea, and once more landed in the night, wandering upon the shore, having nothing to cover them but the torn rags of the Highland habit. At break of day they met with a lady on horseback, followed by a young domestic, and ventured to speak to her: this lady was of the family of the Macdonalds, which was strongly attached to the interest of the Stuart line. The prince, who had seen her  
in



in his prosperity, knew her again, and discovered himself, when she immediately threw herself at his feet; they were all drowned in tears, and those of Miss Macdonald shed in this extraordinary and affecting interview, were redoubled by the danger in which she saw her prince; every step they advanced they were in danger of being taken, and she advised the prince to hide himself in a cave, which she shewed him, at the foot of a mountain near the cottage of a Highlander, who was known by her and attached to her, promising to come herself and take him from this retirement, or send some trusty person whom she would charge to conduct him to her.

Prince Edward, with his bosom friends, were again forced to enter a cavern

vern, the peasant furnishing them with a little barley flower mixed with water: but their inquietude and grief were compounded, when, after having passed two days in this frightful place, no person came to their succour; all the environs were strictly watched by the militia, and these three unhappy people had nothing left to subsist on. A cruel disorder weakened the prince; his body was covered with ulcered sores: this condition, and what he had already suffered, and all that he had to fear, filled up the measure of the extremity of the most horrible misery that human nature could support; but he was not yet arrived at the end of his sufferings.

Miss Macdonald sent, at last, a messenger to the cave, who informed them  
that

that a retreat in the continent was impossible ; that they must again fly into another little island, called Benbecula, and take refuge there in the house of a poor gentleman, which he would shew them ; that Miss Macdonald would meet them there, and consult upon what methods were most proper to be taken for their safety.—The same boat which brought them here, transported them to this island, and upon their landing, they went immediately to this gentleman's house, and the lady embarked some miles distance in pursuit of them ; but no sooner were they arrived than they learned that the gentleman, with whom they had hoped to find an asylum, had been carried off in the night-time with all his family. The prince and his friends

once more concealed themselves in the marshes : at last, O'Neal ventured from his concealment, and found Miss Macdonal in a little cottage. She told him that she could save the prince by dressing him in the cloaths of a maid-servant, which she had brought with her, that she could not undertake to conceal any more than him, and that more than one person would give cause of suspicion. These two faithful friends preferred the safety of their prince to their own welfare, and parted with him in tears, and he followed Miss Macdonald in a servant's dress, taking the name of Betty. Notwithstanding this disguise, dangers still threatened him, and he fled for refuge with this lady, to the isle of Sky, lying to the west of Scotland.

They

They were in a gentleman's house when it was suddenly invested with the enemy's troops; the prince himself opened the door to the soldiers, and had the good luck not to be known by them; but presently after it was known in the island that he had been in this house. It then became necessary for him to separate from Miss Macdonald, and abandon himself to the rigour of his destiny: he walked ten leagues, followed only by a single waterman. At last, pressed by hunger and ready to sink, he hazarded entering into a house, the master of which he well knew to be an enemy to his parry: "The son of  
" your king, said he, is come to demand bread and cloaths of you; I  
" know you are my enemy, but I  
" believe



“ believe you have virtue enough  
 “ not to abuse my confidence and  
 “ my misfortunes. Take these mi-  
 “ serable garments I now wear and  
 “ and keep them ; one day or other  
 “ you may bring them to me in the  
 “ palace of the kings of England.”

The gentleman to whom he addressed himself was affected, as might well be expected ; he offered him all the assistance that the poverty of this country would admit of, and kept his secret.

From hence he once more regained Scotland, and shewed himself to the clan of Moran, which was affected to him ; he wandered afterwards about Lochabar and Badenoch : here he was informed that his benefactress, Miss Macdonald, and almost all who had favoured him were arrested, and  
 and

and saw a list of all his officers who were condemned by contumacy, which in England is called a bill of attainder. He was always in danger himself, and the only news which he heard, was the imprisonment of his servants, for whom death was preparing.

A report now prevailed in France, that the prince was in the hands of his enemies ; his agents at Versailles alarmed, implored the king to permit his minister at least to write in favour of their master. The number of English prisoners of war in France inspired the officers of the pretender with hopes, that this would ward off the vengeance of the English court, and prevent that effusion of blood which they expected to be shed upon the scaffold. The marquis d'Argenson, at that time  
minister

minister, brother to the secretary at war for foreign affairs, and addressed himself to Monsr. Van Hoy, ambassador of the United Provinces, and intreated him to become a mediator: these two ministers agreed in a principle which distinguished them from most statesmen; they made use of sincerity and humanity, where others employed little else but policy.

The ambassador Van Hoy wrote directly a long letter to the duke of Newcastle, then secretary of state, in these terms: “ May you banish this  
 “ pernicious art, which discord has  
 “ brought forth and nourished to ex-  
 “ cite mankind to a mutual destruction  
 “ of each other. Miserable notions of  
 “ policy, which substitute vengeance,  
 “ hatred, jealousy and avidity to those  
 VOL. II. F “ divine

“divine precepts which constitute the  
“glory of kings, and the welfare of  
“their subjects.”

This exhortation seemed in its substance and expressions to be adapted to other times than ours; it was stiled a homily; instead of softening the king of England it provoked him: he complained to the states-general of the behaviour of their ambassador, who had dared to send him remonstrances from a king who was his enemy, concerning his conduct towards his rebellious subjects. The duke of Newcastle wrote that it was an unprecedented proceeding: the States strongly reprimanded their ambassador, ordered him to make his excuses to the duke for his intermeddling, and to repair his fault. Van Hoy, convinced  
that

that he had not been guilty of any, yet obeyed, and wrote to the duke, " That " if he had erred, it was the inseparable lot of human nature." He might have failed with regard to the laws of policy, but not to those of humanity. The English ministry and the states-general ought to have been sensible how far the king of France was in the right; nay, even bound to intercede for that unhappy nation, the Scotch: they ought to have recollected that when Louis XIII. had taken Rochelle, which was in vain succoured by the naval army of king James I. the English monarch sent the chevalier Montaign to the king of France, to implore his mercy in behalf of the Rochelle rebels, and that his inter-

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cessions



cessions were regarded. The English minister had not the same clemency.

He now endeavoured to render prince Charles despicable in the eyes of the people, because he had been terrible : the standards which were taken at Culloden were publicly carried through Edinburgh ; the hangman bearing that belonging to the prince, the others were borne by chimney-sweepers, and the executioner burnt them all together in the market-place : this farce was the prelude of those bloody tragedies which ensued.

On the 10th of August 1746, seventeen officers were executed, the most considerable of whom was the colonel of the Manchester regiment, named Townly ; he was drawn with eight other officers to Kennington-com-

mon

mon near London, which was the place of execution, upon a hurdle ; and after they had hanged them, they plucked out their hearts, flung them in their faces, and cut their bodies in quarters. This method of punishment is a remain of ancient barbarism : formerly, the criminal's heart was torn out when yet breathing ; but now this bloody action is done after they are strangled ; their death is less cruel, and preserving this barbarous solemnity which is added to it, serves to terrify the populace. There was not one of these unhappy men who suffered, but protested, that he perished in a just cause, and strenuously excited the people to persist in it. Two days after, three Scotch peers were condemned to be beheaded.

The laws of England consider none as nobility but lords, that is to say, the peers of the realm, who are tried for the crime of high-treason, in a manner different from the rest of the nation: at their trial a peer is chosen to preside as judge, who bears the title of Lord High-steward of the kingdom; this title nearly corresponds with that of Grand Seneschal. The peers of Great-Britain on these occasions receive his orders; by letters under his own seal, written in Latin, they are summoned to assemble in the great hall at Westminster; and he must have at least twelve peers with him to enable him to proceed to judgment. This sessions is held in the most solemn manner; the Lord High Steward sitting under a canopy, and

the clerk of the crown delivering his commission to a king at arms, who presents it upon his knees; six mace-bearers always attend the doors of his coach at going in and coming out of the hall; he is paid a thousand guineas each day during the trial. When the accused peers are brought before him, and the other peers their judges; a serjeant at arms cries three times *oyez*, in the old French language; a serjeant of the court carries before them an axe, the edge turned towards the high-steward, and when sentence of death is pronounced, it is turned towards the criminal.

With these melancholy ceremonies the lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Cromarty were conducted from the Tower to Westminster-hall, where

the lord-chancellor being appointed high-steward: they were all three found guilty of having borne arms for the pretender, and condemned according to law, to be hanged and quartered. The lord-steward, who pronounced their sentence, informed them at the same time, that the king, by virtue of his royal prerogative, changed their punishment into that of being beheaded. Lady Cromarty, who had already eight children and was big with the ninth, went with her family and prostrated herself at the king's feet, imploring his mercy for her unhappy lord, who touched with so affecting a scene, granted her request.

The two others were executed: Kil-marnock on the scaffold shewed signs  
of



of repentance : Balmerino behaved with unshaken intrepidity, and went to death in his regimentals. The governor of the Tower having according to custom cried, Long live king George ; Balmerino answered with an elevated voice, Long live king James and his worthy son, and died braving death as he had braved his judges.

Executions were daily carried on, and every prison filled with impeached persons : a secretary of the pretender's, named Murray, preserved his life by disclosing such secrets as convinced the king of the danger he had escaped : he discovered that in London there was a secret party, and that they had furnished the prince with large sums of money. But whether these informations were not sufficiently circum-

stanced,

stanced, or whether the government were fearful of irritating the nation by odious researches, they contented themselves with strictly punishing those who were taken in open rebellion. Ten were executed at York, ten at Carlisle, and forty-seven at London; and in the month of November every twentieth man of all the inferior officers and soldiers were drawn, and suffered death by lot, and the rest were transported to his majesty's colonies: in the same month also seventy were executed at Penrith, at Brumpton, and at York, ten at Carlisle, and nine at London. An English priest, who was imprudent enough to ask of prince Edward the bishopric of Carlisle, at the time he was in possession of that city, was led to the gallows, and executed in his  
pon-

pontifical habits ; he harangued the people with vehemence in favour of the family of king James, and prayed to God for all those who had perished like him in this quarrel.

But of all these unhappy sufferers, the fate of lord Derwenwater seemed most to be lamented : his eldest brother was beheaded at London in 1715, for having fought in the same cause ; when he obliged his son to ascend the scaffold, though an infant, he addressed him in these terms : “ Be covered “ with my blood, and learn to die for “ your royal master.” His youngest brother, who had escaped and entered into the French service, was included in the same condemnation. As soon as he knew that he could be useful to his prince, he set out for England ;  
but

but the vessel, in which he embarked with his son and several officers, provided with arms and money, was taken by the English: he suffered the same death as his brother, and with the same firmness, saying, The king of France would take care of his son; who not being an English subject, was released, and returned to France, where the king made good his father's expectations, by giving him and his sister a pension.

The last peer who suffered by the hands of the executioner was lord Lovat, a man eighty years of age: this was he who was the first mover of the enterprize. He had laid the foundation of it ever since the year 1740: the chief malecontents had assembled privately at his house; he engaged to  
raise

raise the clans when prince Edward embarked in 1743; he employed all the chicanery of the law to defend a remnant of Life, which he lost at last on the scaffold; but he died with as much greatness of soul, as he had shewn dexterity in finess and art. He pronounced aloud this verse of Horace before he received the fatal blow:

*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*

But the most strange event, and such as is scarcely to be met with out of England was, that a young student, named *Painter*, devoted to the Jacobite party, and intoxicated with that fanaticism which produces so many extraordinary things in fiery imaginations, requested to suffer in the place of this old-man: he even made the most pressing



pressing intreaties, but no attention was paid to them. This young man did not personally know *Lovat*, but he knew that he had been the chief of the conspiracy, and he looked upon him to be a respectable and necessary man.

The government joined to past vengeance, future precautions, an embodied militia was kept up towards the frontiers of Scotland. The Scotch lairds were deprived of their hereditary jurisdictions, which attached their clans to them ; and the chiefs who had remained faithful to the government, were indemnified by pensions and other advantages.

The court of France in its solicitude for the fate of prince Edward, had sent out two small frigates in the  
month



month of June, which happily arrived on the eastern coasts of Scotland, where he had landed at the beginning of this unfortunate enterprize. He was fought for in vain in this country, and in several neighbouring isles of the coast of Lochabar. At length, on the 29th of September, the prince arrived by unfrequented roads, and through a thousand new perils, at the place where he was expected. What is astonishing, and proves that all hearts were with him is, that the English were not apprised neither of the arrival of these vessels, nor of their stay, nor of their departure. They brought the prince within sight of Brest, but they found an English fleet opposite that port. They then stood out to sea again, and returned afterwards

wards upon the coast of Britany, on the side of Morlaix; here they found another English fleet; they hazarded passing through the enemies ships; and at last, after so many dangers and misfortunes, the prince got safe to the port of St. Paul de Leon on the 10th of October 1746, having with him some few of his partisans who had escaped the researches of the conquerors: thus ended an adventure, which, in the times of knight-errantry, might have proved fortunate, but could not be expected to succeed in an age, when military discipline, artillery, and above all, money, in the end, decides every thing.

While prince Edward had been wandering up and down in the mountains of Scotland, and scaffolds had  
been

been prepared every where for his adherents; his conqueror, the duke of Cumberland, was received in triumph at London; the parliament settled an annuity on him of twenty-five thousand pounds per annum, which is about 500,000 livres of France, besides his usual revenue.

The English nation performs itself, what sovereigns do elsewhere: prince Edward was not yet at the boundary of his calamities; for having taken refuge in France, and finding himself obliged to leave that country to satisfy the English, who insisted on it in the treaty of peace: his courage grown desperate by so many shocks, refused to yield to the necessity of the times: he resisted remonstrances, intreaties, orders, pretending that the

promise ought to be kept which had been made him never to abandon him. His person was obliged to be seized on; he was arrested, pinioned, thrown into prison, and conducted out of France: this was the last blow with which fate had oppressed a race of kings for three hundred years.

Charles Edward from this time concealed himself from all the world. Let private persons, who repine at their little misfortunes, read the history of this prince and his ancestors\*.

\* All these circumstances were written in 1748, under the direction of a person who accompanied the prince a considerable time, both in his prosperities and adversities.

The history of this prince properly falls in with the memoirs of the war of 1741. It has entirely escaped the researches of those who have pirated, disfigured and sold a part of that manuscript.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*The King of FRANCE failing in his Attempt to restore Peace ; gains the Battle of LAUFELD. BERGEN-OP-ZOOM taken by Assault. The Russians at last march to the Assistance of the Allies.*

WHILE this fatal catastrophe was transacting in England, Louis XV. completed his conquests : unfortunate in all parts where he was not present, and victorious in every enterprise in which he accompanied marshal Saxe. He continually urged a general pacification, which was become absolutely necessary for all the parties concerned in the war, who had now no pretence left for destroying each other. It did



not appear to be the interest of the new stadtholder to continue the war at the commencement of an authority not yet thoroughly established, and which was not supported by any fixed stipend. But the public animosity to the court of France was carried so far, and the ancient jealousies were so inveterate, that a deputy of the states, when he presented the stadtholder to the states-general on the day of his installation, had said in his speech on this occasion: " That the republic stood  
" in need of a chief, against an am-  
" bitious and perfidious neighbour,  
" who made a jest of the faith of trea-  
" ties." Strange expressions while they were still negotiating, and for which Louis took no other revenge, than not to make any ill use of his victories,



victories, which ought to appear still more surprizing.

This violent rancour was universally fomented by the court of Vienna, which constantly resented the attempt made to strip Maria-Theresa of her hereditary dominions in violation of treaties : Louis had repented of this procedure ; but the allies were not satisfied with this : the court of London, during the conferences at Breda, intrigued with all Europe to raise new enemies against him.

At length the English ministry produced a formidable succour from the extremities of the North. *Elizabeth Petrowna*, the daughter of the Czar Peter I. and empress of all the Russias, ordered fifty thousand men to march into Livonia, and promised to equip

fifty galleys. This armament was to be at the absolute disposal of the king of England, on the payment of only one hundred thousand pound sterling: it cost four times as much for eighteen thousand Hanoverians who served in the English army: this treaty, which had been concerted long before, could not be concluded 'till the month of June 1747.

There had been no example hitherto, of so great a succour coming from that quarter, and nothing was a stronger proof that Czar Peter the Great, in changing the face of affairs throughout his extensive dominions, had laid the foundation of great alterations in the politics of Europe. But while the very ends of the earth were thus excited against the king of France,

France, his conquests increased : Dutch-Flanders was taken as rapidly as the other parts of that province. The grand object with marshal Saxe always was, the taking of Maestricht : this is not one of those places which are easily taken by a victorious army, as had been the case with most of the towns in Italy. After the taking of Maestrecht, it had been determined to attack Nimeguen, and in that case it is not to be doubted, but the Dutch would have sued for peace before a single Russian could have come to their assistance ; but Maestricht could not be besieged, 'till a considerable battle had been fought and completely gained.

The king was at the head of his army, and the allies were encamped

between him and the city. The duke of Cumberland still commanded them : marshal *Bathiani* conducted the Austrians, and the prince of *Waldeck* the Hollanders.

The king chose to engage ; marshal Saxe obeyed ; and the event was the same as at the battle of Liege : the French were conquerors ; but the allies were not so completely routed, that the grand object of the siege of Maestricht could be accomplished. They retired under the cannon of this city, and left Louis XV. the glory of pursuing, at full liberty, all his operations in Dutch-Brabant. The English troops signalized themselves again in this battle, by making the bravest resistance : marshal Saxe himself charged them at the head of some  
bri-

brigades : the French lost the count de Bavier, natural brother of the late emperor Charles VII. the marquis de *Froulai*, a field-marshal, and a most promising youth ; colonel *Dillon*, a name in high repute, with the Irish brigades ; brigadier *Erlach*, an excellent officer ; the marquis d'*Autichamp*, and the count d'*Aubeterre*, the brother of him that was killed at the siege of Brussels ; the number of the slain was considerable ; the marquis de Bonac, whose father had acquired great reputation as an ambassador, lost a leg ; the young marquis *Segur* had an arm taken off ; he had lain at the point of death for a long time with the wound he had formerly received, and he had but just recovered, when this  
new

new disaster reduced him to the same condition.

The king told his father, that his son merited to be invulnerable : the loss was nearly equal on both sides ; five or six thousand men killed or wounded on each part, signalized this day ; the king of France made it famous by his speech to general Ligonier, who was brought to him a prisoner : “ Would it not be better, “ said the king to him, to think seriously of peace, than to destroy so “ many brave people ? ” This general officer of the English army was born his subject, and the king placed him at his table ; but natives of Scotland, though officers in the French service, had been put to death in England for  
the



the unfortunate enterprize of prince Charles-Edward.

After every victory, after every conquest, Louis XV. always preferred peace, but in vain, no attention was paid to his offers: the allies depended on the succour of the Russians; on their success in Italy; on the alteration in the government of Holland, which would give birth to new armies on the circles of the empire; and on the superiority of the English fleets, which constantly menaced the possessions of France, in Asia and America.

The fruit of this victory was still wanting: it was, therefore, resolved to lay siege to *Bergen-op-zoom*; a place deemed impregnable, both on account of its being the master-piece of the celebrated engineer Cohorn, but because

cause it was continually supplied with ammunition, and all kinds of necessities by the river Escaut, which forms an arm of the sea behind it. Besides these advantages, and a numerous garrison, there were lines near the fortifications, and in these lines, a body of troops who could, at every instant, relieve the town.

Of all the sieges that had ever been formed, this appeared the most difficult: the conduct of it was given to count de Lowendhal, who had already taken part of Dutch-Brabant: this general, a native of Denmark, had been in the Russian service; he had distinguished himself at the assaults of *Otzakow*, when the Russians forced the Janissaries in that city; he spoke almost all the languages of Europe; he

he knew all its courts, their politics, the genius of the several inhabitants, and their manner of fighting; and had at last given the preference to the French service, into which, through the friendship of marshal Saxe, he was received in the rank of lieutenant-general.

The French and the allies, the besieged and even the besiegers themselves, all thought the enterprise would fail. Lowendhal was almost the only person who seemed to think the success certain: every proper measure was taken by the allies; the garrison was reinforced; provisions of all sorts arrived by the Escaut; the artillery was well served; the besieged made several sallies; attacks were repeated by a considerable body of troops which  
pro-

protected the lines near the city, and mines were sprung in several places.

A sickness amongst the besiegers, encamped on an unwholesome spot, seconded the resistance of the garrison; contagious disorders rendered more

than twenty thousand of the French army incapable of service, but their place was easily supplied. At last, after three weeks open trenches, count Lowendhal demonstrated, that there are occasions when it is necessary to go beyond the established rules of art.

The breaches were not yet practicable; but there were three works slightly damaged, the ravelin of *Edem*; and two bastions, one of which was called *the Maiden*, and the other the *Cokorn*: the general resolved to carry the town,

by

by an assault on these three places at once.

The French in regular engagements often find their equals, and sometimes their masters in the art of war; but they have no equals in those *coups-de-main*, and in those rapid enterprises where impetuosity, agility and ardour surmount all obstacles. The troops having received their orders in whispers, and all being ready, in the dead of the night, when the besieged thought themselves in security, they descended into the *fossée*, and ran to the three breaches; twelve grenadiers alone made themselves masters of the fort of Edem, killing all who resisted, and making the rest throw down their arms: the Maiden and the Cohorn were assailed and carried with the same

viva.



vivacity, the troops climbing up in crouds: every thing is carried, they push on to the ramparts, where they form, and enter the city with bayonets fixed. The marquis de *Lugeac* seized on the gate leading to the harbour, the commandant of which surrendered at discretion; all the other forts were surrendered in the same manner; the old baron de *Cronstrom*, who commanded within the town, fled to the lines; the prince of Hesse Philipstadt, making some resistance in the streets with two regiments, the one Scotch, and the other Swiss, they were cut to pieces; the rest of the garrison fled towards the lines for protection, and spread terror wherever they came, till the flight became general, and arms, provisions, baggage, and every thing  
else



else was abandoned ; the city was pillaged by the victorious troops, who, in the king's name, seized on seventeen great barges in the port, laden with ammunitions of all sorts, and refreshments sent to the besieged by different cities of Holland : on the chests were written in great characters, " For the invincible garrison of Bergen-op-zoom." The king, when he received the news, made count Lowendhal a marshal of France : the surprise was very great at London, but the consternation throughout Holland was inexpressible, and the army of the allies was thrown into dismay. Notwithstanding all this good fortune, it was still very difficult to conquer Maestricht : this enterprise was reserved

for the year 1748; marshal Saxe saying,

“ That the peace was in Maestricht.”

The campaign was opened with the preparations for this important siege: nearly the same measures were to be taken as at the siege of Namur; to open to themselves and secure all the avenues to force an entire army to retreat, and to render it incapable to act: this was the most skilful manœuvre of the whole war. The enterprize could not succeed but by engaging the enemies to change their position: it was necessary to deceive them, and, at the same time, to keep the real object a secret from their own army: the marches must be so combined, that each march should deceive the enemy, and that all should answer the main design. All this was planned by marshal

shal Saxe, and arranged by Monsieur de Cremille.

The enemy was at first made to believe that the French had a design on *Breda*; the marshal himself conducted a large convoy to Bergen-op-zoom at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and seem to turn his back on *Mae-stricht*; another division marched, at the same time, to Tirlemont on the road to Liege, another to Tongres; another threatened Luxembourg, and all at last march towards *Mae-stricht* on the right and on the left side of the *Meuse*. The allies, separated into different bodies, did not discover the marshal's design 'till it was too late to oppose it: the city found itself invested on both sides of the river, so that no succours could possibly enter.

The enemy, to the number of near eighty thousand men, were at Mazedo and at Ruremonde; and the duke of Cumberland could only be a witness of the taking of Maestricht.

To lower this constant superiority of the French; the Austrians, English and Dutch expected thirty-five thousand Russians instead of fifty thousand, on which number they had at first relied. This succour, which came from such a distance, arrived at last: the Russians were already in Franconia: an indefatigable set of men, accustomed to the most rigid discipline; they slept upon the bare ground, covered only with a single cloak, and often upon the snow; the coarsest food satisfied them, and at this time they had not four sick in any one regiment  
of

of their army ; what might render this succour still more important was, that the Russians never desert ; their religion differing from all the other Latin communions, their language having no relation to the rest, and their aversion to strangers renders desertion so frequent in other armies, totally unknown among them : in a word, it was the same nation that had conquered the Turks and the Swedes : but the Russian soldiers, who had become such excellent troops, were at this time in want of good officers : the nation also knew how to obey, but their captains did not know how to command ; and they had no longer a *Munich*, a *Laschi*, a *Kelly*, nor a *Lowendbal* to head them.



While marshal Saxe besieged Maastricht, the allies put all Europe in motion: they prepared for a renewal of the war in Italy with fresh vigour, and the English had already attacked the French settlements in Asia and America. It will now be necessary to observe the great exploits they performed with a small force, both in the old and in the new world.



## CHAP. XXVII.

*Voyage of Admiral ANSON round the  
Globe.*

FRANCE or Spain cannot be at war with England but the shock given to Europe must be felt to the extremities of the earth. If the industry and bravery of our modern nations boast an advantage over the rest of the globe, and beyond all antiquity, it is owing to our maritime expeditions. We are not perhaps so much astonished as might be expected, to see fleets sent out from the ports of inconsiderable provinces, scarce known in former times by the ancient civilized nations,

one single ship of which would have destroyed all the fleets of the Greeks and Romans: on one side, these fleets sail beyond the Ganges to fight battles with each other in sight of the most powerful empires, which remain the quiet spectators of an art, and a rage which have not yet reached them; on the other, they go beyond America to contest for slaves in a new world.

The success is seldom proportionable to these enterprises, not only because all the obstacles are not foreseen, but because the means are seldom adequate to the end proposed.

Admiral Anson's voyage shews clearly what an intelligent and resolute man may accomplish, notwithstanding defective preparations, and excessive perils.

We

We may recollect that when England declared war against Spain in 1739, the ministry sent admiral Vernon to the gulph of Mexico ; that he there destroyed Porto-bello, and failed in his attempt on Carthagenæ. George Anson was ordered at the same time to make an irruption into the kingdom of Peru by the South-sea, in order to ruin if possible, or at least to weaken, at both extremities, the extensive conquests which Spain had made in this part of the world : Anson was made commodore, that is to say, commander of a squadron, they gave him five ships of the line, a kind of small frigate mounting eight guns, and carrying about one hundred men, and two private ships laden with provisions and merchandisè : these two vessels

vessels were to carry on a traffic in favour of the enterprise ; for “ It is “ peculiar to the English, to connect “ commerce with war.” The whole crew of this squadron consisted only of fourteen hundred men, amongst whom there were several old invalids, and two hundred young recruits ; this was but a very small force, and they sat out too late in the year : this armament did not get to sea ’till the end of September 1739. The commodore steered for the isle of Madeira belonging to Portugal ; he advanced to the isles of Cape-Verd, and cruised along the coasts of Brasil ; he put into a little island called St. Catherine, which is always covered with verdure and with fruits, in the 27th degree of southern latitude ; and afterwards  
I  
sailed

ailed along the cold and uncultivated country of the Patagonians, of which so many fables have been published: towards the end of February 1741, he entered the streight of Le Maire, beyond one hundred degrees latitude, and got clear of it in five months. The little sloop of eight guns, named, the Trial, was the first of the kind that had ventured to double Cape Horn: she afterwards took a Spanish ship of six hundred tons in the South-sea, whose crew could not comprehend their being taken by a bark coming from England into the Pacific ocean.

However, in doubling Cape Horn, after having passed the streight of la Maire, Anson's squadron was buffeted by very severe storms and dispersed: an inveterate scurvy likewise destroyed

one



half of his people; and the commodore's vessel alone made the desert island of Fernandes in the South-sea, in their way back towards the tropic of Capricorn.

The rational reader, who must observe with some degree of horror, the prodigious pains that men take to render themselves and their fellow-creatures unhappy, will learn with satisfaction that Anson, finding in this island a most serene climate and fertile land, sowed on it the seeds of several plants and fruits, and some nuts, which he had taken with him, and which soon after covered the whole island. Some Spaniards who put in there a few years after, and since then had been carried prisoners to England, judged that it could be no other than Anson  
who



who had repaired the evils of war by this generous action, and they thanked him as their benefactor.

He found upon the coast a great many sea-lions, whose males fought desperately for the females, and his people were astonished to see a number of goats in the plains with their ears cut, which served to verify the adventures of one Shelkirst, who being left upon this island had lived there several years. Let me be permitted to soften, by these little circumstances, a melancholy history which is only a recital of murders and calamities: a more interesting observation was that of the variation of the compass, which was found conformable to Halley's system; the needle followed exactly the route that this great astronomer  
had

had traced for it: he gave laws to the Magnetic powers, as Newton had done to all nature. And this little squadron which traversed unknown seas only with a view of plunder, proved useful to philosophy without knowing it.

Anson, who was on board a sixty-gun ship, having been rejoined by another man of war, and by the sloop, took several pretty considerable prizes in cruising off this island of Fernandes. But soon after, advancing towards the equinoctial line, he ventured to attack the city of Plata in America, situated on the coast so named: he did not make use of his men of war, nor yet of the remainder of his equipage, in attempting this bold stroke: fifty soldiers in a row-boat performed this expedition; they landed in the night;

the

the surprise was sudden, and the confusion and disorder being redoubled by darkness, multiplied and augmented the danger.

The governor, the garrison, and the inhabitants took to flight: the governor went and got together about three hundred horse, and raised the militia in the neighbouring country: the fifty English soldiers in the mean time, for three days together, transported to their ships the treasures they found in the custom-house, and in private houses, without the least interruption: the negro slaves who did not fly (a species of animals who belong to the first that seizes on them) assisted in carrying off the riches of their former masters: the men of war then approached the town, and the governor

vernor had neither the courage to return into the city and defend it, nor the prudence to treat with the conquerors for the ransom of the place, and of the remaining effects. Anson, therefore, ordered Plata to be reduced to ashes and then set sail, having plundered the Spaniards with as much ease as they had formerly stript the Americans: the loss sustained by the Spaniards amounted to upwards of fifteen hundred thousand piaftres, and the English gained about one hundred and eighty thousand; which, added to the prizes taken before, already enriched the squadron, and the great number taken off by the scurvy left a larger share for the survivors. This little squadron appeared afterwards off Panama, on the Pearl coast, and advanced

to

to Acapulco at the back of Mexico. The government at Madrid were ignorant at this time of the danger they were in of losing that considerable part of the globe.

If admiral Vernon, who had besieged Carthagena on the opposite sea, had succeeded, he might have assisted commodore Anson. The isthmus of Panama to the right and left, would have been taken by the English, and the centre of the Spanish dominions lost. The Spanish administration, long since apprised of this, had taken the proper precautions, which an unparalleled misfortune rendered useless. They had provided against Anson's squadron, by a more numerous fleet, with a greater number of men, and more cannon, under the command of *Don*



*Joseph Pizarro.* The same tempests that had assailed the English, dispersed the Spaniards before they could make the streight of La Maire: they were not only attacked with the same scurvy which had carried off half the English; but the provisions they expected from Buenos-ayres not arriving, famine was added to the scurvy: two of their ships, whose crew were at the point of death, were bulged on the coasts; two more were ship-wrecked: the commander was obliged to leave his own ship at Buenos-ayres, because there were not hands enough left to steer her, and this ship could not be repaired under three years: so that he returned to Spain in 1746, with not quite an hundred men, out of two thousand seven hundred that he carried out: a fatal



fatal event, which serves to shew that the sea service is more dangerous than that of the land, since independent of engagements, they are always liable at sea to the most horrible dangers, and to the most dreadful extremities.

The misfortunes of Pizarro left Anson at full liberty in the South-sea; but the loss he had sustained of so many men, put it out of his power to undertake any considerable enterprises at land, especially since he had heard from his prisoners of the failure of the siege of Carthagena, and that Mexico had been secured.

Anson then centered all his enterprises and his great hopes in the single object of taking an immense galleon, which the Mexicans send every year into the Chinese seas to the island of

Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, so called because they were discovered in the reign of Philip the second.

This galleon, laden with silver, would not stir out of port while any English ships were seen on the coasts, nor set sail 'till a considerable time after their departure. The commodore, therefore, traversed the Pacific ocean, and all the climates opposite to Africa, between our tropic and the equator. Avarice, rendered honourable by fatigue and danger, made him run over the whole globe with two men of war: the scurvy pursued his crew to these seas; and one of the ships proving leaky in several parts, they were obliged to abandon and to burn her at sea, lest some of her wreck should be carried into any of the Spanish

nish islands, and prove serviceable to them. The remainder of the sailors and marines belonging to this ship were taken on board the centurion, the commodore's ship, which, with two sloops, were all that remained of his squadron. The centurion, which had singly escaped so many dangers, but was greatly impaired, and had almost all her crew sick, happily for them, put into one of the *Marianne* islands, called *Tinian*, at this time almost entirely deserted; and when peopled it contained scarce thirty thousand souls, the greatest part of whom had perished by an epidemical disease, and the remainder had been transported to another island by the Spaniards.

Their residence at Tinian saved the crew: this island, more fertile than

## 118 THE AGE OF

that of Fernandes, presented on all sides, wood, spring-water, tame animals, fruits, vegetables, and every thing that was necessary for food, for the conveniencies of life, and for refitting a ship. But the most singular thing they found on it was a tree, the taste of whose fruit resembled the best bread: a real treasure, which, transported into our climates, would be far preferable to those imaginary riches, snatched from the extremities of the globe in the midst of the greatest perils. From this island they ranged over that of Formosa, which joins to *Macao* towards China, at the entrance of the river Canton, to complete the repair of the only remaining ship.

*Macao*, for one hundred and fifty years, has belonged to the Portuguese:

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the emperor of China having permitted them to build a town in this little island, which is only formed on a rock, but it was necessary for their commerce. The Chinese in all this time have never violated the privileges granted to the portuguese: this fidelity, in my opinion, invalidates the testimony of the English author, who has published the history of this expedition: this historian, in other respects, judicious, instructive, and a good citizen, never mentions the Chinese but as a contemptible people, without fidelity and without industry. As to their industry it is indeed of a different nature from ours; and as to their manners, I imagine we should form our judgment of a powerful nation, rather from its governors than from the populace at the extre-



mities of a province. It appears to me that the faith of treaties, observed by the government for a century and half, does more honour to the Chinese than they derive shame from the avarice and treachery of a low race of people, inhabiting one of the sea-coasts of this vast empire. Must the most ancient and the best governed nation in the world be insulted, because some poor wretches wanted to defraud the English, by little thefts, and illicit profits of the twenty thousandth part of what the English had taken by force from the Spaniards in the Chinese sea? It is not long since that travellers experienced much greater oppressions in more than one country of Europe. What would a Chinese have said, if having been shipwrecked

on



on the coasts of England, he had seen the inhabitants running in crouds, greedily to seize, before his face, on all his shipwrecked effects?

The commodore having put his ship into very good condition at *Mac-coa*, by the assistance of the Chinese, and having received on board some Indian and Dutch sailors, who appeared to him to be useful hands, he set sail again, pretending to go to Batavia, and even giving it out so to his crew; but having in reality no other design than to return to the Philippine islands in pursuit of the galleon, which he presumed would now be in this latitude. As soon as he was out at sea, he imparted his project to his people: the idea of so rich a prize inspired them with joy and hope, and redoubled their courage.

rage. In fine, on the 9th of June 1743, they discovered this so-much-desired ship advancing towards Manilla; it mounted sixty-four guns, twenty-eight of which were only four pounders: the crew consisted of five hundred and fifty men; the treasure it carried amounted to no more than about fifteen hundred thousand piaſtres in ſilver, with ſome cochineal; for the whole treasure, which is commonly of twice that amount having been divided, had been transported in another galleon.

The commodore had only two hundred and forty men on board his ſhip: the captain of the galleon perceiving the enemy, choſe rather to riſk the treasure, than to loſe his honour by flying from an Engliſhman, and boldly  
crouded

crouded all his sail to come to engage him.

The rage of seizing on riches, which is stronger than the duty of preserving them for a sovereign; the expertness of the English, and the skilful manœuvres of the commodore, gained him the victory: he had only two men killed in the engagement; the galleon lost sixty-seven, and had eighty-four wounded; yet still he had more people left than the commodore, when he surrendered. The conqueror returned to Canton with this rich prize; there he supported the honour of his country, by refusing to pay to the emperor of China the duties which are laid on all foreign ships; he insisted that a man of war did not owe any, and his resolution carried the point:

point: the governor of Canton gave him an audience, to which he was conducted through a double file of soldiers, to the number of ten thousand; after which he returned home by the islands of *Sunda*, and by the cape of *Good Hope*: having thus made the tour of the world victorious, he landed in England on the 4th of June 1744.

He caused the treasures he had taken to be carried to London in triumph, in thirty-two waggons, amidst the acclamations of the populace, and the music of drums and trumpets. His prizes in silver and gold were estimated at ten millions of French money, which were the sole property of the commodore, his officers, sailors, and soldiers, the king claiming no part

of

of the fruit of their fatigues, and of their valour : these riches soon circulating in the nation, contributed to enable her to support the immense expences of the war.

Some common privateers, however, took more considerable prizes in proportion : captain Talbot, with a single vessel, took two French ships, which he imagined at first came from Martinico, and contained only common merchandise ; but these two *Malorine* vessels had been freighted by the Spaniards before war had been declared between France and England, and thought to return home with great safety. A Spaniard, who had been governor of Peru, was on board one of these ships, and they were both laden with treasures, consisting of  
gold,



gold, silver, diamonds, and the most valuable merchandise: this prize was estimated at twenty-six millions of livres: the privateer's people were so astonished at the riches they saw, that they did not condescend, as usual, to take away the jewels which the Spanish passengers wore, though there was scarce any that had not a sword mounted in gold, and a ring upon his finger: yet they did not touch one of them; and when Talbot arrived with his prizes safe at *King'sale* in Ireland, he gave twenty guineas to each of the sailors, and to all the Spanish footmen. The booty was divided between two privateers, one of which had been Talbot's companion, but left him to pursue, though without success, another vessel, named the *Esperance*, which was  
the

the richest of the three: each sailor of the two privateers had eight hundred and fifty guineas for his share; the two captains had each three thousand five hundred guineas; and the remainder was divided among the owners of the privateers, after it had been transported in triumph from Bristol to London in forty-three waggons. The greatest part of this money was lent to the king himself, who paid interest for it to the proprietors: this single prize was worth more than a year's revenue of all Flanders. One may judge how far such adventures encouraged the English to go a cruising, and raised the hopes of one part of the nation, who saw such prodigious advantages arising from the public calamities of war.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

LOUISBOURG. *Sea Engagements: immense Prizes made by the English.*

ANOTHER enterprise, begun later than that of admiral Anson, shews what a nation may accomplish which is at once commercial and warlike. I mean the siege of Louisbourg: this was not an operation of the cabinet-council at London, it was the fruit of the valour of some private merchants in New-England. This colony, one of the most flourishing belonging to the English nation, is situated at about eighty leagues distance from the island of Louisbourg or Cape Breton; an island at that time of vast impor-

importance to the French, being situated towards the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, which is the key to their possessions in North America. This territory had been confirmed to France by the peace of Utrecht. The cod-fishery carried on in these parts, was the source of an advantageous commerce, which employed annually above five hundred vessels belonging to Bayonne, St. Jean de Luz, Havre-de-Grace and other towns in France; and they brought home at least three thousand tuns of oil proper for a variety of manufactures: it was a nursery for sailors; and this commerce, joined to that of the cod-fishery, gave employment to ten thousand men, and circulated ten millions of money.

A merchant, of the name of *Vaughan*, proposed to his fellow-countrymen of New-England to raise troops to besiege Louisbourg. This idea was received with applause ; and a lottery was set on foot, the produce of which paid a small army of four thousand men, which was raised, accoutred and provided with transports at the sole expence of the inhabitants: they even nominated a general, but it was necessary to have the consent of the court of London, and the assistance of some ships of the line. The requisition was no sooner made than granted: the court sent admiral Warren with four men of war to protect this enterprize of a whole nation.

Louisbourg might have been defended, and rendered all these efforts  
useless,



useless, if it had been provided with sufficient ammunition; but it is the fate of most settlements at a distance, that we very rarely send them what is necessary in proper time. On the first news of the preparations making against this colony, the French minister, of the marine department, sent off a sixty-four-gun ship, laden with every thing that was wanting at Louisbourg. This ship arrived just in time to be taken, at the entrance of the harbour, by the English. The governor of the town, after a vigorous defence of fifty days, was obliged to surrender: the English prescribed their own terms; one of which was, that they themselves would transport the garrison and all the inhabitants, amounting to two thousand people, to France. Some months

after we were accordingly surprised at Brest, to see an entire fresh colony, left upon their strand by English ships.

The taking of Louisbourg was besides fatal to the French East-india company, which had undertaken to farm the fur trade of Canada, so that their ships often came and watered at Louisbourg. Two large ships belonging to the company arrived there immediately after it was taken, and surrendered: this was not all; a fatality, not less singular, farther enriched the new possessions of Cape Breton; a large ship, named the *Esperance*, which had escaped the privateers, thought like the others, that she should be safe in the harbour of Louisbourg, and like them was lost. The lading of these three ships, which came from the heart

heart of Asia and America only to surrender themselves in this manner, amounted to twenty-five millions of livres. If war for a long time has been allowed to be a game at chance, the English, in one year, won at this game about three millions sterling. The conquerors not only made sure of keeping possession of Louisbourg for ever, but they made preparations for seizing on all New France.

It should seem, however, as if the English ought to have undertaken more important maritime enterprises; for they had at this time six men of war of one hundred guns, thirteen of ninety, fifteen of eighty, twenty-six of seventy, thirty-three of sixty, thirty-seven from fifty to fifty-four; and under this rate from the largest fri-

gates of forty guns down to the least, they reckoned one hundred and fifteen; they had besides fourteen bomb-vessels, and ten fire-ships; in all, two hundred and sixty-three ships of the line, besides letter of mark sloops and transports. This navy was provided with forty thousand sailors: no nation ever possessed such marine forces. All these ships could not be armed at once, far from it: the number of soldiers was too disproportionate; but notwithstanding this, in the years 1746 and 1747, the English had, at one time, a fleet in the Irish and Scotch seas, another at Spithead, another in the East-Indies, another off Jamaica, another at Antigua, and they still kept fitting out new fleets as occasion required.

France

France was obliged to act on the defensive by sea during the whole war, having in all but about thirty-five ships of the line to oppose this formidable power. It became every day more difficult to support the colonies : if large supplies were not sent to them, they remained entirely at the mercy of the English fleets ; if the convoys set sail from France, or from the islands they ran the risk of being taken with the ships that escorted them. In fact, the French suffered occasionally the most terrible losses ; for a fleet of merchantmen, coming to France from Martinico convoyed by four men of war, was met by an English fleet ; thirty of the merchant-ships were taken, sunk or run ashore ; and two of the men of war,



one of which was an eighty gun ship, fell into the hands of the enemy.

A fruitless attempt was made to pass to North-America, in order to attempt the retaking of Cape Breton, or to destroy the English colony of Anapolis in Nova-Scotia. The duke d'Anville of the house of *Rochefoucault*, was sent there with fourteen ships of the line ; he was a man of great bravery, and endowed with that politeness which the French alone preserve amidst the ferocity which is remarkable in the sea-service ; but his bodily strength was not answerable to the greatness of his soul : he died on the savage coast of Chiboctou, after having seen his fleet dispersed by a violent storm. Several of the ships were lost, others  
were

were driven so far from the rest, that they fell into the hands of the English.

However, it often happened, that expert officers who convoyed fleets of French merchantmen, knew how to conduct them home in safety, notwithstanding the numerous fleets of the enemy.

A very successful instance of this was given in the skilful conduct of *Monsieur du Bois de la Motte*, at that time captain of a man of war, who, as he was conducting a convoy of eighty sail from the French American islands, was attacked by an entire squadron, and had the dexterity to draw all the enemy's fire upon himself, while his convoy slipped away, which he afterwards rejoined, and conducted to Port Royal in St. Domingo. From  
thence

thence he engaged the enemy a second time, and brought home to France upwards of sixty sail; but of course the English navy in the end, destroyed that of France, and ruined its commerce.

One of their most signal advantages at sea was the engagement off Cape *Finisterre*: an engagement in which they took six of the king's large ships, and seven belonging to the East-India company, armed like men of war, four of which struck during the combat, and the three others afterwards; the crews amounting to four thousand men.

London is full of merchants and sea-faring men, who interest themselves much more in successes at sea, than in all that passes in Germany or Flanders. The transports of joy were unparalleled

paralleled in that city, when the same Centurion, which had been so celebrated for sailing round the world, arrived in the Thames, and brought the news of the victory off Finisterre, gained by the same Anson, who, with great justice, had been created vice-admiral, in conjunction with admiral Warren. Twenty-two waggons arrived at London soon after with the gold, silver, and other effects taken from the French fleet. The loss of these effects, together with the ships, was estimated at more than twenty millions of French livres.

Of the silver taken at this time, some money was coined, the legend of which was the word *Finisterre*, which served both for a flattering remembrance of the victory, and an encouragement

agement to the people: it was a glorious imitation of the ancient custom among the Romans of engraving in this manner on their current money, the most remarkable events of the empire. This victory was not so surprising as it is was happy and useful: the admirals Warren and Anson had fought with seventeen ships of the line, against six of the French, the best of which, in point of construction, was not equal to the smallest ship of the English fleet.

But it was really astonishing that the marquis de la Jonquiere, who commanded this squadron, after having maintained the engagement for a long time, should be able to manage so as to let his convoy, which he had brought from Martinico, escape. The  
captain



captain of the Windfor expresses himself in these terms in a letter on the subject of this battle: " I never saw  
" better behaviour than that of the  
" French commodore; and to say the  
" truth, all the officers of that nation  
" shewed great bravery, not one of  
" them surrendered 'till it was impossible to work the ship any longer." The French had now only seven ships remaining in these seas, destined to convoy the merchant-ships from the American isles, under the command of Monsieur *de l'Estanduere*: they were met by fourteen English ships: they fought, as at Finisterre, with the same valour and the same fortune: numbers carried the day, and admiral Hawke conveyed

fix

fix of the seven French ships into the Thames.

France had then but one man of war remaining; and the mismanagement of cardinal Fleury in neglecting the marine, was acknowledged without reserve; this fault is not easily repaired: sometimes an excellent land army has been formed in two or three years by experienced, assiduous generals; but it takes a long time to establish a formidable maritime force.



## CHAP. XXIX.

*The Affairs in INDIA, MADRASS, and  
PONDICHERRY. The Expedition  
of LA BOURDONNAIE; the Conduct  
of DU PLEIX, &c.*

WHILE the English were carrying their victorious arms over so many seas, and the whole globe was become the theatre of the war; they began to feel its effects in their colony of Madras. A person named Mahè de la Bourdonnaie, who was at once a merchant and a soldier, avenged the honour of the French flag in the heart of Asia.

To render this event more distinct, it is necessary to give some idea of  
India;

India; of the European commerce in that rich and extensive country, and of the disputes which subsist among them, which are often supported by arms.

Though such multitudes of Europeans have gone to India, where they have established settlements, and carried on war, by which several have amassed immense fortunes; few have applied themselves to the study of the antiquities of that country, formerly more famous for its laws and sciences, than for its riches; which are now become the only object of our voyages.

An English gentleman\*, who resided thirty years in Bengal, and who understands the antient and modern languages of the Bramins, has destroyed

\* Mr. Holwell.

the vain collection of errors which have hitherto filled our histories of India; at the same time he has confirmed the opinions which a small number of the learned had long entertained †. This country without dispute was the most early civilized in the world; even the learned Chinese give up the superiority. The most antient monuments that the emperor Camhi had collected in his cabinet were all Indian: the learned and indefatigable Englishman, who in the year 1754, copied their most antient written law, named the Shasta, prior to their *Wedam*.

† “ I have studied, says he, all that has been  
 “ written concerning the Indians, from Arrian  
 “ down to the Abbé Guion, and have found  
 “ nothing but errors and falsehoods.”

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asserts,



asserts, that at that time it was four thousand six hundred and sixty-six years old ; and if we can believe him, this book of laws, the most antient in the world, was a long time before that period religiously preserved by tradition, as well as by antient hieroglyphics.

It is a common practice in all the histories of India, copied without examining one another, to divide all the Indian nations into Mahometan idolaters ; yet it is affirmed that the Bramins and Banians, far from being idolaters, have always acknowledged one God, creator, whom their books every where stile the ETERNAL, and they still reverence him amidst all the superstitions which disfigure their antient

tient religion. We have hitherto believed, on seeing the monstrous figures exposed in their temples for public worship, they adore devils, although they never heard of the devil; these symbolical representations being only emblems of the virtues. They generally describe virtue as a handsome woman, with ten arms to resist temptations; she carries a crown, is mounted on a dragon, and holds in one of her hands a pike, resembling in the point a flower-de-luce. Though this is not a proper place to enter into a detail of all their antient ceremonies, which they have preserved even to our times, nor to explain the Shatabad, and the Wedam, nor to shew how far the modern Bramins have degenerated from their ancestors; yet notwithstanding

their subjection to the Tartars, and the great avarice and debauchery of the Europeans settled on their coasts, have in general made them wicked and deceitful; the author, who lived long amongst them, observes, that the Bramins, who are not corrupted by conversing with the European merchants, nor by intriguing at the courts of the nabobs, “Afford the purest “model of true piety, which is to be “found on the face of the earth\*.”

• The high-priest of the island of Cheringam in the province of Arcate, who justified the chevalier Laws against the accusations of governor du Pleix, was an old man, aged one hundred years, and respected for his incorruptible virtue: he understood the French language, and was of great service to the East-India company. —It was he that translated the Ezour-Wedam; the manuscript of which I sent to the royal library.

The

The climate of India is very favorable to human nature, nor is it there uncommon to see people six score years old. The wretched narratives of our India company, inform us, that in a battle between two tyrants of that country, one of them named Anaverdikan, whom we caused to be assassinated by a treacherous attendant, was one hundred and seven years old, which did not prevent him however from rallying his troops three times. The emperor Aurengzebe lived above one hundred years; and Nisan Elmoluk, grand chancellor of the empire under Mahomet-Schah, who was dethroned and restored by Shah-Nadir, died upwards of one hundred years old; so that whoever lives soberly in that country enjoys a long and heathful life.

If the Indians had remained unknown to the Tartars and to us, they would have been the happiest people in the world. Though the antient immemorial custom of their philosophers ending their days upon a pile, in hopes of again beginning a new life; and that of the women being burned on the bodies of their husbands, in order to be born with them again under a different shape, prove them to be very superstitious, yet it shews a courage to which we do not approach. Formerly, they dreaded killing their fellow-creatures, but had no fear of destroying themselves; indeed the women of the tribe of Bramins continue to burn themselves, but not so frequently as before: our penitents afflict their bodies, but those



destroy them; and both act against the intention of nature, with the notion that this body will thereby be rendered more happy.

It is true, that the aversion to spill the blood of beasts in that antient nation, increased that of destroying mankind; but such mildness of manners made them always very bad soldiers; and it is to that mildness that their misfortunes and slavery owe their origin. The Tartar government, which is precisely the same with that of our ancient grand fiefs, prevails in most of those nations by subjecting them to lesser robbers who are named by the vice-roys, while the latter are appointed by the emperor. Such is the administration which was established in Europe, Asia, and Africa, by the Goths,

Vandals, Franks and Turks, who all came originally from Tartary, a government entirely contrary to that of the antient Romans, and still more so to that of the Chinese; the best in the world next to that of some small civilized colonies who have preserved their liberty.

The Marrattas are almost the only free people in that extensive country; they inhabit the mountains behind the Malabar coast, between Goa and Bombay, for the space of seven hundred miles and upwards; they are the Swifs of India; like the Swifs they are warriors, less polished, but more numerous, and therefore more formidable. The vice-roys, who are often at war with one another, purchase their assistance, and even

even while they pay them, dread their power.

The vast superiority of genius and strength which the Europeans possess above the oriental Asiatics, is sufficiently proved by the conquests gained by our people in those nations, and for which they are constantly fighting. The Portuguese, who were the first that settled on the coasts of India, carried their arms and religion to the extent of more than two thousand leagues; having factories and forts which mutually assisted each other, from the cape of Good Hope as far as Malucca. When Philip II. was master of Portugal, he might have formed an empire in India, at least as advantageous as that of Mexico and Peru, and had it not been for the courage  
and

and industry of the Dutch, and afterwards of the English, the pope could have conferred more real bishoprics in those immense territories than he bestows in Italy, and have drawn from thence more money than he can from all the people that are subject to the papal chair.

It is well known that the Dutch have the largest settlements in that part of the world; which extend from the islands of Sunda to the coast of Malabar; next to them the English, who are powerful on the two coasts of the Peninsula of India, and as far as Bengal; and the French who came last have the smallest share, so that they have not been more fortunate in the East-Indies, than they were in the West.

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The French company, which was established by Louis XIV. was dissolved in 1712, and again set on foot at Pondicherry in 1720, as has been observed, in a very flourishing condition; it had a great many ships, some clerks, directors, and even artillery and soldiers; but it never could by its trade yield the smallest dividend to the proprietors; and, what is remarkable, this is the only trading company in Europe that comes under the same predicament; for, in fact, neither proprietors nor creditors have received any payment but what arose from the king's grant of part of the duties on tobacco, which is entirely foreign to their trade; by that alone it succeeded at Pondicherry, for the returns in money were applied to augment



ment its funds, to fortify and embellish the town, and procure useful allies among the Indians.

Du Pleix, a man as active as intelligent, and as studious as laborious, had a long time presided in the factory of Chandernagor upon the Ganges, in the rich and fertile province of Bengal, about thirteen hundred miles from Pondicherry ; he had there formed a considerable settlement, had built a town, and fitted out fifteen ships : this was a conquest by genius and industry, greatly preferable to other acquisitions. The company then found it to be their interest to allow every individual to trade for his own benefit ; the manager in their service acquired an immense fortune, while every body became enriched ; he likewise made another settlement

tlement at Patna, going up the Ganges within thirty leagues of Benares, the antient school of the Brachmans.

So many services procured him the government of the French settlements at Pondicherry in the year 1742, when the war broke out between England and France. It has already been remarked that the effects of these wars are always felt to the extremities of the world, in Asia and in America.

The city of Madrafs in the province of Arcot, which belongs to the English, is about ninety miles distant from Pondicherry, and that settlement is of as great consequence to England as Pondicherry is to France: these two cities are rivals, but the commerce between that part of the world and ours,  
and

and the European industry is so active and so much superior to that of the Indians, that these two colonies might enrich themselves without hurting each other.

Du Pleix, as governor of Pondicherry, and commander in chief of the French nation in India, had proposed a neutrality to the English company, than which nothing could be more suitable to traders, who ought not to sell stuffs and pepper with an armed hand, as commerce is intended to be the tie of nations, to comfort the earth and not to lay it waste. These offers, made by humanity and reason, were rejected by pride and avarice: the English promised themselves, not without some probability, to become conquerors in the Indies as in other places, and thereby

thereby put a period to the French East-India company.

Mahé de la Bourdonnaie, like the Du Quesnes, the Barts, and the Du Gue Trouins, was capable of doing a great deal with little, and was no less conversant in commerce than he was skilful in sea affairs. He was then governor of the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius by the king's appointment, and in the name of the company ; those islands soon became flourishing under his administration. He had armed nine ships of war, with which he sailed from Bourbon, having on board about two thousand three hundred white, and eight hundred black troops, all disciplined by himself, and whom he had made excellent engineers. An English squadron, under the command  
of

of admiral Barnet, was cruising in those seas, and not only defended Madras, but molested Pondicherry, and took a great number of prizes. This fleet he attacked and dispersed, and without orders, went to lay siege to Madras.

Several deputies came to represent that it was not allowed to attack the territories of the Great Mogul; they were in the right, for it is the greatest weakness in the Asiatic monarch to suffer it, and the height of European audacity to attempt it. The French, however, landed without resistance, and led their cannon before the walls of a place badly fortified, with a garrison of five hundred soldiers for its defence. The English settlement consisted of fort St. George, where the magazines were



were kept, of the White-Town inhabited only by Europeans, and of the Black-Town peopled by merchants and mechanics from all the nations of India, Jews, Banians, Armenians, Mahometans and Pagans, also red Indians, and others of a bronze colour. This multitude amounted to fifty thousand souls. The governor was soon forced to surrender, and the ransom of the city was valued at eleven hundred thousand pagodas, which is estimated at nine millions of French livres.

Bourdonnaie received an express order from the ministry, “ Not to hold  
“ any of the conquests that he might  
“ make in India;” an order as inconsiderate, perhaps, as all those which are given at a distance from the scene of action, on subjects that are not

therefore within the reach of knowledge. However, he punctually obeyed this order, and received hostages and sureties for the ransom of this conquest, which he did not keep. Never was known more punctual obedience, accompanied with greater service. He had the merit also of establishing order in the town; of calming the terrors of the women (who had all fled for refuge into the churches and pagodas) to deliver them with honour from their fears, and at last to make the nation victorious, respectable and dear to the conquered.

It has almost always been the fate of France, that its enterprises, and even successes, out of its frontiers, have become fatal. Du Pleix, governor of the India company, had the misfortune

fortune to be jealous of Bourdonnaie. : he annulled the capitulation ; seized his ships, and would even have put him under arrest.

The English, and the inhabitants of Madrafs, who relied upon the rights of nations, were struck with astonishment at this infraction of the treaty, and word of honour, given by Bourdonnaie. But their indignation was raised to its highest pitch, when Du Pleix destroyed the Black Town, and laid it in ruins : this piece of barbarity was greatly injurious to the innocent Colonists, without being of the least advantage to the French. The ransom, which should have been received, was lost, and the French name became detestable throughout all India.

In the midst of the discontent, reproaches, and bad humour which were occasioned by such a behaviour, Du Pleix made the council and principal citizens of Pondicherry, who were under his command, sign the most bitter memorials against his rival; accusing him of having demanded too small a ransom from Madras, and of having received, for himself, presents of too great a value.

At last, as a reward for such a signal service, the conqueror of Madras, on his arrival at Paris, was shut up in the Bastile, where he remained three years and a half, while they were sending to India for evidences to appear against him; nor was he permitted to see his wife and children: thus cruelly punished on suspicion only, he contracted  
a mortal

a mortal distemper in the prison; but before it put a period to his life he was declared innocent by the commission of the council appointed for his trial. It was doubted whether it afforded him greater comfort or grief, in being justified so late, and to so little purpose: nor was any recompence made to his family by the court; indeed the public bestowed upon him the flattering title of La Bourdonnaie, the avenger of France, and the victim of envy.

But soon after the same public forgave his enemy, Du Pleix, when he defended Pondicherry against the English, who besieged it by sea and land under the command of admiral Boscawen, who attacked it with about four thousand English and Dutch soldiers,



diers, and as many Indians, reinforced by the greatest part of the sailors from his fleet, consisting of twenty-one sail. Mr. Du Pleix then acted as commander, engineer, and commissary of stores; his indefatigable care was seconded by Mr. de Buffi, who often repulsed the besiegers at the head of a body of volunteers. All the officers there gave proofs of courage which deserved the gratitude of their country; so that the capital of the French colonies, which was thought to be unable to resist, was for this time saved. This was one of the operations which at last procured the grand ribband of St. Louis to Mr. Du Pleix, an honour which had never been conferred on any body out of the military service. We shall see in what manner he became the protector

tector and conqueror of the Indian viceroys, and what catastrophe followed too much glory.

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CHAP. XXX.

*The Peace of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.*

IN this flow and ebb of successes and losses, almost common in every war, Louis XV. continued to be victorious in the Low Countries : Maestricht was already on the point of surrendering to marshal Saxe, who besieged it in the best form ever attempted by any general, and from thence all was open to Nimwegen. The Dutch were under great consternation, there being near

thirty-five thousand of their soldiers prisoners in France, and more dreadful disasters than those in the year 1672 seemed to threaten that republic: but what France gained on one side, was lost on the other; its colonies were exposed; its commerce ruined, and its navy destroyed. As all the contending nations were sufferers, so all of them stood in need of a peace, as it had happened in former wars. Near seven thousand trading vessels belonging to France, Spain, England and Holland, had been taken in the course of their reciprocal depredations; from hence it may be concluded, that above fifty thousand families had sustained considerable losses; join to these misfortunes, the vast number of deaths, and the difficulty of raising recruits, as happens

happens in every war. One half of Germany and Italy, together with the Low Countries, had been laid waste; and to increase and prolong so many disasters, the money of England and Holland had engaged thirty-five thousand Russians who were then in Franconia; so that the same troops, which had conquered the Turks and Swedes, were about to approach the frontiers of France.

But what particularly distinguishes this war, is, that after every victory gained by Louis XV. he made offers of peace, which had never been accepted; at last, indeed, when they saw that Maestricht was going to fall after Bergen-op-zoom, and that Holland was in danger; the enemies likewise demanded

demanding that peace which was become necessary to all parties.

The marquis de St. Severin, one of the plenipotentiaries from France, at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, began by declaring, that he came to fulfil the words of his master: "That he would make peace not as a merchant, but as a king."

As Louis XV. wanted nothing for himself, he used his interest for his allies; by that peace he confirmed the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to his relation Don Carlos; he likewise settled his son-in-law, Don Philip, in Parma, Placentia and Guastella; and his ally the duke of Modena, son-in-law to the regent, duke of Orleans, was re-instated in the possession of his territories; which he had lost in espousing  
the



the cause of France. Genoa again enjoyed all its rights: thus it appeared better, and even more advantageous to the court of France, to think of nothing but the good of its allies than to insist upon having two or three towns in Flanders, which would only have been an eternal ground of dispute.

England, which had no other particular interest in this general war, besides that of one ship, lost in it a great deal of blood and treasure, and the affair of that ship remained, after all, in the same situation. The king of Prussia was the greatest gainer; he retained the conquest of Silesia, at a time when all the powers agreed not to suffer the aggrandizing of any prince. The duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia,

dinia, was, next to the king of Prussia, the greatest gainer, the queen of Hungary having given him part of the Milanese for his alliance.

After this peace, France re-established itself in the same manner as after the peace of Utrecht, and became still more flourishing. At that time the Christian part of Europe was divided into two great parties, who watched one another, and who, on each side, supported that balance which had been the pretext for so many wars, though it ought to insure continual peace. The states of the empress queen of Hungary, and part of Germany, Russia, England, Holland and Sardinia formed one of these grand factions, while France, Spain, the Two Sicilies, Prussia and Sweden composed the other. As all  
the

the powers continued in arms, a lasting tranquillity was expected even from the fear with which one half of Europe seemed to inspire the other.

Louis XIV. was the first who kept up those numerous forces, which obliged the other princes to make the same efforts; so that after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the Christian powers of Europe had about a million of men under arms, perhaps to the detriment of arts and necessary professions, but particularly to agriculture: they flattered themselves that for a long time there would be no aggressor, because all the states were armed to defend themselves; but they flattered themselves in vain.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*The State of EUROPE in 1756. LISBON destroyed. Conspiracies and Punishments in SWEDEN. Dreadful Wars for some Territories towards CANADA. The taking of PORT-MAHON by Marshal RICHLIEU.*

EUROPE never enjoyed such happy times as from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, to about the year 1755. Trade flourished from Petersbourg even to Cadiz; the fine arts were every where respected; a mutual correspondence might be observed among all nations; and Europe resembled a large family re-united after a general quarrel. The fresh troubles of Europe seemed

to be announced by earthquakes, which were felt in several countries, but in a more terrible manner at Lisbon in Portugal. One third of that city was thrown down upon its inhabitants, and thirty thousand men destroyed: this shock extended into Spain, where the small town of Setubal was almost destroyed, others damaged; and the sea rising higher than the key at Cadiz, swallowed up all that came in its way.

The earthquakes which shook Europe, were likewise felt in Africa; and the same day that the inhabitants of Lisbon perished, the earth opened near Morocco, where a whole tribe of Arabs was buried in the abyss; and the cities of Fez and Mequinez were still greater sufferers than Lisbon.

The



This scourge ought in all appearance to have made mankind consider, that they were, in fact, victims to death, and should, therefore, comfort one another. The Portuguese believed that the mercy of God might be obtained by burning some Jews, and other persons, in what they call an *auto da fé*, or act of faith, which other nations regarded as an act of barbarity; but even from that time, measures were taken, in different parts of Europe, to dye, with blood, that earth which had been shaking under our feet.

The first fatal catastrophe happened in Sweden; that kingdom had become a republic, of which the king was only a first magistrate; being obliged to conform to the voice of the senate:

the

the states, composed of the nobility, burgesſes, clergy and peaſants, could indeed alter the laws of the ſenate ; but the king did not poſſeſs that power.

When ſome noblemen, more attached to the king than to the new laws of the country, conſpired againſt the ſenate in favour of the monarch ; all was diſcovered, and the conſpirators were puniſhed with death ; that which might have been deemed a virtuous action in a ſtate purely monarchical, was looked upon as an infamous treaſon in a country become free : thus the ſame actions are crimes or virtues, according to the times or places of their being put in execution.

While this occurrence alienated the Swedes from their king, it contributed afterwards to cauſe war to be declared

(as we shall see) against Frederic, king of Prussia, whose sister was married to the king of Sweden.

From that period, the revolutions, which the same king of Prussia and his enemies were preparing, resembled a fire smothering under the ashes; which soon spread over Europe, but the first sparks came from America.

A slight quarrel between France and England, for some desert lands towards Acadia, gave rise to a new system of politics among all the sovereigns of Europe. It is proper to observe that this quarrel was the fruit of the negligence of all the ministers who, in 1712 and 1713, concluded the treaty of Utrecht. By that treaty France had ceded to England, Acadia, adjoining to Canada, with all its ancient limits;

limits; but they had not specified what were those limits; to which indeed they were strangers: this is a fault which has never been committed in contracts between individuals; and debates necessarily arose from that omission. Were philosophy and justice to meddle in the quarrels of men, they would make them see, that the French and the English disputed for a country over which they had not the smallest right; but those first principles never enter into the affairs of the world. A similar dispute among common merchants would have been adjusted in two hours by arbitration; but among crowned heads, the ambition or caprice of a commissary is sufficient to overthrow twenty states. The English were accused of seeking

the entire destruction of the French trade in that part of America; as they were greatly superior by their rich and numerous colonies in North America, so they were still more so at sea by their fleets; and having destroyed the navy of France in the war 1741, they flattered themselves that nothing could resist their power, either in the new world, or on our seas; but they were soon undeceived.

In 1755 they began by attacking the French on the borders of Canada; and without any declaration of war took above three hundred merchant-ships, as if they had been only smuggling cutters; they likewise went so far as to take vessels belonging to other nations which were carrying goods to the French. At this conjuncture



junction, the king of France acted quite differently from Louis XIV. he contented himself with immediately demanding justice, and only allowed his subjects to fit out cruizers. Louis XIV. had often spoken to other courts with superiority, but Louis XV. made all the courts sensible of the superiority affected by the English; and if Louis XIV. had been reproached for an ambition tending towards universal monarchy upon land; Louis XV. made known the real superiority assumed by the English on the seas.

In the mean time Louis XV. determined on revenge; his troops attacked and defeated the English near Canada in 1755: he got ready a considerable fleet in his harbours; and proposed to attack George II. by land, in his electorate

of Hanover. Such an irruption into Germany threatened Europe with the conflagration, which had been lighted up in the new world; and it was then that all the political views of Europe were altered. The king of England, a second time called from the extremities of the north thirty thousand Russians, whom he took into his pay. As the Russian empire was in alliance with the emperor and empress-queen of Hungary, the king of Prussia had reason to be afraid that the Russians, Imperialists, and Hanoverians, might fall upon him. He had about one hundred and forty thousand men in arms; he did not hesitate to unite with the king of England to hinder the Russians from entering Germany on the one hand, and on the other to  
block

block up the road to the French. Here then all Europe is again in arms, and France again plunged in new calamities which she might have shunned, if she could have avoided her fate.

The king of France raised with ease, and in a moment, all the money he wanted, by one of those ready resources, which cannot be known in a kingdom less opulent than France; twenty new places of farmers-general and some loans, sufficed to support the first years of the war: a destructive facility, which, in a short time, ruined the kingdom!

France pretended to threaten the coasts of England with an invasion, but it was no more as in the reign of queen Elizabeth, who, by the assistance

of the English only (having Scotland to fear, and being scarce able to keep Ireland) yet withstood the prodigious efforts of Philip II. But George II. king of England, thought himself obliged to bring over some Hanoverians and Hessians to defend his coasts; the English, who had not foreseen this consequence of their undertaking, murmured to see an inundation of strangers; and their boldness, now converted to fear, trembled for their liberty.

While the English were thus mistaken with regard to the intentions of the French, and were afraid of an invasion, they never thought of Minorca, the fruit of such immense expence lavished in a former war for the succession of Spain.

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The English, as is well known, had taken Minorca from the Spaniards; the possession of that place, which had been confirmed to them by all the treaties, was of more importance than Gibraltar, which has no harbour; and gave them the empire of the Mediterranean. About the end of April 1756, the king of France sent the marshal duke de Richlieu into that island, with near twenty battalions, escorted by a dozen of ships of the line and some frigates, which the English did not suspect to be in so much readiness: all was so at a fixed time, and nothing was ready on the side of the English, who attempted, however, though too late, to attack the French fleet, commanded by the marquis de la Galissoniere in the month of June following. That battle



battle could not have preserved the island of Minorca, but it might have saved their reputation; the expedition was unsuccessful; the marquis Galliffonniere put their fleet in confusion, and repulsed it. For some time after, the English ministry saw with regret, that they had compelled the French to establish a formidable navy.

The English still had hope of defending the citadel of Port-Mahon, which, next to Gibraltar, they regarded as the strongest place in Europe, by its situation, by the nature of the ground, and by thirty years care which they had taken to fortify it; it was every where an entire rock; there were ditches twenty feet deep, and in some places thirty, cut into the rock; there were fourscore mines under some works  
before

before which it was impossible to open the trenches : it was every where impenetrable to cannon, and the citadel was every where surrounded with those exterior fortifications cut into the solid rock.

The marshal de Richelieu formed a bolder enterprize than that of Bergen-op-zoom, which was to make an assault, at one time, on all the works which defended the body of the place ; and in this daring attempt, he was seconded by the marquis de Maillebois, who always displayed great talents in this war.

The people of London were so exasperated at their not being able to conquer the French at sea, that admiral Byng, who had fought the marquis Galissonniere, was condemned by

a court-

a court-martial to be shot, by virtue of an old law passed in the reign of Charles II. Marshal Richelieu, who from the height of a plain country had seen all the engagement, and who could form a judgment of it, in vain sent a declaration to the author of this history in justification of admiral Byng, which soon reached the king of England; it was also in vain that the judges themselves recommended him, in the strongest terms, to the mercy of the king, who might have saved him; for after all, that admiral was executed. He was son of that admiral who gained the battle of Messina in 1718. He died with great resolution, and before his execution sent his vindication to the author, who would soon have been and

and his acknowledgments to marshal Richelieu.

The French descended into the ditches in spite of the English artillery; they placed scaling ladders thirteen feet high; and the officers and soldiers, when arrived at the last round, sprung upon the rock, climbing upon one another's shoulders: it was by a boldness not easily to be comprehended that they made themselves masters of the out-works. The troops behaved with so much more courage, as they had to do with near three thousand English, assisted by all that art or nature could do for their defence.

The next day the place surrendered; the English could not conceive how the French had passed the ditches, into which a man in cool blood would hardly

hardly venture to descend. This action gave great glory to the general, and to the nation, but it was the last of the French successes against England.

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CHAP. XXXII.

*The War in GERMANY. An Elector of BRANDENBOURG resists the House of AUSTRIA, and the GERMAN Empire, together with those of RUSSIA and FRANCE. Remarkable Events.*

IT was worthy of admiration that Louis XIV. alone should be able to resist Germany, England, Italy and Holland, united against him; but we have seen a more extraordinary event, an elector of Brandenburg by himself



self withstand the forces of the house of Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and one half of the empire.

This is a prodigy which we can only attribute to the discipline of his troops, and to the superior talents of the general: it is true, chance may gain a battle; but when the weak resist the strong for seven years, in a country entirely open, and repair the greatest losses; that cannot be work of fortune: it is in this respect that this war differs from all others which have desolated the world.

We have already seen that the second king of Prussia, being the only prince in Europe who had a treasure, and the only one, who having introduced proper discipline among his troops, had thereby established a new domi-

dominion in Germany; and we have seen how much the preparations of the father emboldened the son to brave alone the power of Austria, and to make himself master of Silesia.

The empress-queen waited for a favourable conjuncture to recover that province. Formerly it would have been an object of indifference to Europe, whether a small territory annexed to Bohemia, should belong to one house more than another; but politics being refined more than improved in Europe, as well as all the other objects of the human mind, this trifling dispute occasioned five hundred thousand men to bear arms. There never were so many effective soldiers employed, neither in the crusades, nor in the irruptions of the conquerors in Asia;  
in

in this manner the new scene was opened.

Elizabeth, empress of Russia, was leagued with the empress Maria-Theresa by antient treaties, by the common interest which united them against the Turks, and by reciprocal affection. Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony, being reconciled to the empress queen, and attached to Russia, to which he owed the title of king of Poland, was closely connected with these two sovereigns. The three potentates had each their complaints against king Frederic; Maria-Theresa had seen Silesia torn from her house; Augustus, and his council, wanted an indemnification for Saxony, ruined by the king of Prussia in the year 1741; and there subsisted between Elizabeth

and Frederic, some personal subjects of complaint, which have often more influence than could be expected upon the destiny of states.

These three powers being exasperated against the king of Prussia, carried on a strict correspondence among themselves, of which that prince dreaded the effects. While the troops of Austria were augmenting, those of Elizabeth were ready; but the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was not in a condition to undertake any thing, having no considerable place which could hinder the Prussians from marching to Dresden: thus order and œconomy rendered Brandenbourg as much formidable as dissipation had weakened Saxony. The Saxon counsel of the king of Poland hesitated much about

entering into measures which might prove fatal to them.

The king of Prussia made no hesitation, and from the year 1755, he took alone, and without consulting any body, the resolution of preventing those potentates who had given him so great umbrage. He forthwith entered into a league with the king of England, elector of Hanover, he made sure of the landgrave of Hesse, and of the house of Brunswick, and in this manner renounced his alliance with France.

It was now that the antient enmity between the houses of France and Austria, fomented since Charles V. and Francis I. gave way to a friendship which appeared to be cordially established to the astonishment of all na-



tions. The king of France, who had carried on so cruel a war against Maria-Theresa, became her ally ; and the king of Prussia, who had been allied to France, became her enemy. France and Austria were thus united, after three hundred years spent in a bloody discord: what so many treaties of peace, and so many marriages had not been able to accomplish, was effected in a moment by a disgust received from an elector. This union was called monstrous by the parliament of England ; but being necessary, it was of course very natural. It might even have been hoped, that the uniting of those two powerful houses, seconded by Russia, Sweden, and several states of the empire, would be able to restrain the rest of Europe.

The

The treaty was signed at Paris by Louis XV. and Maria-Theresa: the abbé Bernis, since cardinal, had the sole honour of this famous treaty, which destroyed the whole edifice of cardinal Richelieu, and which seemed to raise another more high and extensive: he was soon after minister of state, and almost as soon disgraced: we see nothing but changes in affairs, both public and private.

While the king of Prussia was threatened on all sides, it only made him more ready to take the field; he marched his troops into Saxony, which was almost defenceless, proposing to make that province a rampart against the power of Austria, and a road to its frontiers: Leipzig immediately fell into his hands, while a part

of his army presented itself before Dresden: king Augustus retired as his father did before Charles XII. after leaving his capital, he went and occupied the camp of Pirna near Kœnigstein, in the road to Bohemia, and on the river Elbe, where he thought himself in safety.

Frederic entered Dresden as master, under the name of protector: he demanded the keys of the archives from the queen of Poland, daughter of the emperor Joseph, who had been unwilling to quit the place; and on her refusing to give them up, took proper measures to force open the doors; the queen placed herself before them, flattering herself that they would respect her person and resolution; but they shewed no respect to either; and  
that

that depository of the state was opened before her eyes. It was of great consequence to the king of Prussia to find the proofs of the designs of Saxony against him: in fact, he found testimonies of the dread which he had occasioned; but that same dread, which should have obliged the court of Dresden to put itself in a state of defence, only served to render it a victim to a powerful neighbour. They were sensible when it was too late, that, according to the situation of Saxony for some years past, they ought to have spent all upon war, and nothing in pleasure: theirs was a situation in which they had no other part to take, but that of preparing themselves to fight, to conquer, or to perish.

On the report of this invasion, the Aulic council of the emperor, declared the king of Prussia to be a disturber of the public peace, and a rebel; but it was difficult to give any weight to this declaration, against a prince who had near one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men under his command. He answered to the laws by a battle, which was fought between him and the Austrians, whom he went to meet at the entrance of Bohemia, near a town named Lowositz.

Though this first engagement was indecisive by the number of the slain, yet it was not so by its consequences: nothing could now prevent the king from blocking up the Saxons in the camp of Pirna itself, where the Austrians never could assist them; and that



that small army of the king of Poland, consisting of thirteen or fourteen thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war, seven days after the battle.

Augustus, in this uncommon capitulation (the only military event between him and the king of Prussia) asked no more than that his guards should not be made prisoners; Frederic replied, "That he could not listen to his request; that those guards would infallibly serve against him, and that he did not chuse to have the trouble of taking them a second time." This answer was a terrible lesson to all princes, that they must make themselves powerful when they have a powerful neighbour.

The king of Poland being thus deprived of his electorate and his army,  
demanded

demande passports from his enemy to go into Poland, which were readily granted, and they had the insulting politeness to furnish him with post-horses for his journey. He went from his hereditary estates to his elective kingdom, where he found nobody even propose to take arms in defence of their king. All the electorate was laid under contribution; and the king of Prussia, in making war, found the means of supporting it in the invaded country. The queen of Poland, who did not follow her husband but remained in Dresden, died soon after of grief. All Europe pitied that unfortunate family; but in the course of those public calamities, millions of families experienced hardships not less great though more obscure. Upon the  
magi-

magistrates of Leipzig remonstrating against the contributions imposed on them by the conqueror, which they said they could not pay, they were sent to prison, and then paid them.

There never were so many battles in any former war, as were fought in this. The Russians entered the territories of Prussia by the way of Poland: the French became auxiliaries to the queen of Hungary; and were fighting to restore to her the same Silesia of which they had helped to strip her some years before, when they were allies of the king of Prussia. The king of England, who had been the most avowed friend of the house of Austria, was now one of its most dangerous foes. And Sweden, which had formerly given such great shocks to this imperial

perial house of Austria, served then against the king of Prussia, on account of nine hundred thousand livres given by the French ministry, but it was Sweden that did the least mischief.

Germany now saw itself torn to pieces by many more national and foreign armies, than had been in it during the famous war of thirty years.

While the Russians were coming through Poland to assist Austria, the French entered by the dutchy of Cleves and by Wesel, which were abandoned by the Prussians: they seized upon all Hesse, and marched towards the country of Hanover, against an army of English, Hanoverians and Hessians, commanded by the same duke of Cumberland who had attacked Louis XVI at Fontenoy.

The

The king of Prussia went in search of the Austrian army in Bohemia; and sent a considerable body to oppose the Russians. The troops of the empire, which were called the troops of execution, were ordered to penetrate into Saxony, which had fallen entirely under the Prussian power. In this manner, Germany was a prey to six formidable armies, which devoured it at the same time.

The king of Prussia then hastened to attack prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the emperor, and general Brown near Prague; the battle was bloody, the Prussians were victorious, and a party of Austrian infantry were obliged to throw themselves into Prague, where they remained blocked up more than two months by the conqueror.



queror. A number of princes were in the city, provisions began to fall short; and it was thought that Prague would soon submit to the yoke, and that Austria was likely to be more overpowered by Frederic than by Gustavus Adolphus.

By endeavouring to carry every thing at once, the conqueror lost all the fruits of his victory. The count de Kaunitz, first minister to Maria-Theresa, a man as active in the cabinet as the king of Prussia was in the field, had already collected an army under the command of marshal Daun. The king of Prussia, without hesitation, went immediately to attack that army which ought to have been intimidated by the reputation of his victories. If that army could once  
be

be dispersed, Prague, which had been bombarded for some time, would of course surrender at discretion; and he would become absolute master of Germany. Marshal Daun entrenched his troops on the top of a little hill; the Prussians ascended it seven times as at a general assault, and were as often repulsed and overthrown: the king lost about twenty-five thousand men, killed, wounded, prisoners and deserters. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had been shut up in Prague, sallied out and pursued the Prussians. This revolution was as great as the exploits and expectations of the king of Prussia had been before the engagement.

The French, on their side, strongly seconded the empress Maria-Theresa,

mar-

marshal d'Estrées, who commanded them, had already passed the Weser; he followed the duke of Cumberland step by step towards Minden, overtook him near Haslenbek, gave him battle, and gained a complete victory. In that action, the princes of Condé and de la Marche Conti, first signaled their arms, and the royal blood of France supported the glory of their country against that of England. A count de Laval-Montmorenci, and a brave officer of the house of Buffy, lost their lives; a musket-shot, which was a long time thought to be mortal, pierced the count de Chatelet of the house of Lorraine; he was son of that celebrated marchioness de Chatelet, whose name will never perish among those

those who know that a French lady has commented on the great Newton.

Let us observe here, that by the intrigues at court, the command was already taken from marshal d'Estrées, and that while he was gaining a battle, the orders were dispatched to give him that affront. They affected to complain at court, that he had not yet taken the electorate of Hanover, and that he had not marched as far as Magdebourg. They thought that every thing ought to be terminated in one campaign: such had been the confidence of the French when they made an emperor, that they believed they could dispose of the estates of the house of Austria in 1741; and such it had been, at the beginning of the age of Louis XIV.

and Philip V. then masters of Italy and Flanders, and seconded by two electors; they thought of giving laws to Europe, and they were always deceived. Marshal d'Estrées said, that it was not enough to advance into Germany, but they must prepare the means to get out of it. His conduct and valour proved, that when an army is once sent, the management of it should be left to the general; because, if they have made choice of him, they have had confidence in his abilities.



## CHAP. XXXIII.

*Sequel of memorable Events. The English Army forced to capitulate. The Battle of ROSBACH. Revolutions.*

THE French ministry had already dispatched marshal Richelieu to command the army of marshal d'Eftrées, before they had received the news of the important victory obtained by that general. The marshal de Richelieu, so well known for the accomplishments of his person and genius, become still more famous for his defending Genoa, and taking Minorca, went immediately to attack the duke of Cumberland; when he had pushed him as far as the mouth

of the Elbe, he there forced him to capitulate with all his army : that capitulation was more useful than a victory, and not less glorious ; as by this means the army of the duke of Cumberland was obliged to retire beyond the Elbe, and leave the field open to the French against the king of Prussia. That monarch ravaged Saxony ; nay, his own territories were also laid waste. The Austrian general, Haddick, had surprised the city of Berlin, and had spared it from being pillaged, for a ransom of eight hundred thousand livres.

The destruction of his Prussian majesty seemed at that period inevitable ; as his being defeated near Prague ; his troops being overcome near Landshut, at the entrance of Silesia, and an indecisive but bloody battle against

against the Russians, all tended to weaken him.

He was liable to be surrounded on one side by the army of marshal Richelieu, and, on the other side, by that of the empire, while the Austrians and Russians entered Silesia; indeed, his ruin seemed so certain, that the Aulic council, without hesitation, declared that he had incurred the ban of the empire, and that he was deprived of all his fiefs, rights, favours, privileges, &c. It was then that he appeared to despair of his fortune, and only looked for a glorious death; but such was his equanimity and courage, that, while he was in the greatest perplexity, he wrote a kind of philosophical testament in French verse. This is a singular anecdote.

The prince de Soubize, a general of a cool and settled courage, of a modest temper, and of cautious conduct, marched into Savoy against him, at the head of a strong army, which the ministry had reinforced by a part of that under marshal Richelieu. This army was joined to that of the circles, commanded by prince Hilbourghaufen.

When Frederic was surrounded by so many enemies, he took the resolution to die sword-in-hand in the ranks of the army of the prince de Soubize; but, at the same time, took every measure to conquer him.

After reconnoitring the army of France, and the circles, he immediately retreated before them in order to possess himself of an advantageous  
situ-

situation. Prince Hilbourghausen was resolved to attack him, and his opinion of course prevailed, because the French were only auxiliaries. They therefore marched between Rosbach and Metzbourg to attack the Prussian army, which was apparently encamped; but, all of a sudden, the tents were struck, and the Prussians appeared in order of battle, between two heights occupied by artillery.

This unexpected fight intimidated the French and Imperialists. For several years it had been in agitation to exercise the French troops after the Prussian method; afterwards several evolutions had been altered in the exercise, so that the soldier did not know what he was doing; his old way of fighting was changed, and he



was not perfect in the new: when he saw the Prussians advance in that singular order, unknown almost every where else, he imagined he saw his masters. The king of Prussia's artillery was also better served, and much better posted than that of his enemies: the troops of the circles fled almost without engaging; the French cavalry were dispersed in an instant by the Prussian cannon; a panic fear spread every where, and the French infantry retired in disorder before six battalions of Prussians. In fact, this was not a battle, but a whole army which offered to fight, and then dispersed. History has hardly any examples of a similar action; only two regiments of Swiss remained in the field, and the prince de Soubize went through

through the middle of the firing, to make them retreat with deliberation.

The regiment of colonel Diesback, in particular, sustained, for a long time, the firing of the cannon and musquetry, and the attacks of the cavalry; and it was owing to the prince de Soubize, that it was not broken, he partaking of all its dangers\*. This strange battle entirely changed the face of affairs: the complaints were universal at Paris;

\* It is against colonel Diesback, that the famous la Beaumelle has been pleased to rail, in a little book, intitled, *Mes Pensées*, as well as against the *d'Erlacs*, the *Sinners*, and all the illustrious families of Switzerland, who have lavished their blood these two centuries past for the kings of France. The impudent clownishness of this wretch ought to be chastised on all occasions.

but

but when the same general obtained a victory over the Hessians and Hanoverians in the year following, it was hardly mentioned. We have already observed that such is the spirit of a large city, happy and idle, and whose applause is so much coveted.

At the same time new disasters overwhelmed the army of marshal Richelieu, which had been lessened by the ministry; who were unwilling to ratify the convention and the laws, which marshal Richelieu had imposed on the duke of Cumberland. By this conduct, the English (not without reason) thought themselves disengaged from their promise. The ratification from Versailles did not arrive 'till five days after the misfortune of Rosbach;

bach; after this, the English recovered Hanover in a very short time.

If the affair of Rosbach was uncommon, what the king of Prussia did after this unexpected victory, was still more extraordinary. He flew into Silesia, where the Austrian conquerors had defeated his troops, and were in possession of Schweidnitz and Breslau; and had it not been for his great expedition, he would have lost Silesia, and the battle of Rosbach had been of no service.

In the course of a month he arrived opposite to the Austrian army, which he immediately attacked with great fury: the battle lasted five hours, and Frederic, completely victorious, re-entered Schweidnitz and Breslau. Such a continual vicissitude of frequent engagements

gagements, gained or lost, has not happened since that time. The French alone were always unlucky; but the government was never discouraged, and France drained itself to send armies constantly into Germany.

The king of Prussia greatly weakened himself by fighting: the Russians took the whole kingdom of Prussia from him, and ravaged Pomerania, while he was laying waste Saxony: the Austrians, and afterwards the Russians, entered Berlin: almost the whole of his father's treasures, and those which he himself had amassed, were necessarily expended in this war, so ruinous to all parties; he was therefore obliged to have recourse to the subsidies of England. The Austrians, French and Russians never discouraged



raged themselves, but pursued him continually: his family durst no more remain in Berlin, they were obliged to take refuge in Magdebourg; and, as for himself, after so many different successes, he was, in 1762, entrenched under Breslau. Maria-Theresa seemed to be on the point of recovering Silesia: he had lost Dresden, and all that part of Saxony which borders on Bohemia; and the king of Poland was in hopes of re-entering his hereditary estates, when the death of Elizabeth, empress of Russia, gave again a new face to affairs, which had so often changed.

As the new emperor, Peter III. had long been a secret friend of the king of Prussia; as soon as he mounted the throne, he not only made peace with him,

him, but became his ally, against the same empress-queen, to whom Elizabeth had always been a constant friend: thus, all of a sudden, we see the king of Prussia, who had been oppressed by the Russians and Austrians, preparing to enter Bohemia, by the assistance of the same Russians who had fought against him some weeks before.

This new situation was as quickly disordered as it had been formed: a sudden revolution altered the affairs of Russia.

Peter III. wanted to divorce his wife, and stimulated the nation against her. He had said, one day when he was drunk to the regiment of Preobasinski on the parade, that he would beat them with fifty Prussians. It was that regiment which prevented his designs, and dethroned

dethroned him: the soldiers and the people declared against him; he was pursued, taken, and put into a prison, where he comforted himself in drinking punch for eight days together, at the end of which he died. The army and citizens, with one voice, proclaimed his wife, Catherine Anhalt, empress, although she was a foreigner; being of the house of Ascanie, one of the most ancient in Europe. It is she who has since become the true lawgiver of that vast empire: thus Russia has been governed by five women successively, Catherine, widow of Peter the Great; Ann, niece of that monarch; the dutchess of Brunswick, regent under the short reign of her unhappy son, prince Ivan; Elizabeth, daughter of Czar Peter the Great and of Catherine I. and

in

in fine, this Catherine II. who, in so short a time, has raised herself so great a name. This succession of five women without interruption, is a singular event in the history of the world.

The king of Prussia being deprived of the succours of the Russian emperor, who wanted to fight under him, did not carry on the war with less vigilance against the house of Austria, one half of the empire, France and Sweden.

It is true, that the exploits of the Swedes were not those of Gustavus Adolphus. His sister, wife of the king of Sweden, had no inclination to do him mischief. It was not the court of Stockholm who took arms against him, it was the senate, and the senate did it because France gave them money.

Though

Though the court was not able to prevent that senate from sending troops into Pomerania, yet it was powerful enough to render them useless; and, in reality, the Swedes pretended only to make war for the little money that was given them.

It was chiefly in Germany that blood was freely spilt, the frontiers of France being never attacked. Germany became a gulf which swallowed up the blood and treasures of France. The bounds of this history, which is only a summary, will not allow a detail of the prodigious number of engagements, which happened from the banks of the Baltic, as far as the Rhine; hardly any battle had great consequences, because each of the powers had constant



resources. It was quite otherwise in America and India, where the loss of twelve hundred men was irreparable: even the battle of Rosbach was not followed by any revolution. The battle lost by the French near Minden in 1759, and the other checks which they suffered, made them indeed retire, but they still remained in Germany. When they were again overcome at Crevelt, between Cleves and Cologne, they continued, however, still masters of the dutchy of Cleves, and of the city of Gueldres. What was most remarkable in the action of Crevelt, was the loss of the count de Gisors, only son of the marshal de Belleisle, who was wounded while fighting at the head of his carabineers: he was a most promising youth;

youth; being equally instructed in affairs of state and in the military art, he was capable of great or lesser undertakings; as his politeness was equal to his courage, he was beloved at court, and in the army. The prince of Brunswick, who took him prisoner, behaved to him like a brother, and did not leave him 'till his death, which he honoured with his tears. This is the same prince of Brunswick, who has since travelled through France, and a great part of Europe, and whom I have seen enjoying his great reputation, and the praises due to him with so much modesty. He at that time fought under his uncle, the prince of Brunswick, brother-in-law to the king of Prussia, who acquired a great reputation, and

who had the same modesty, the true concomitant of glory, and the characteristic of his family. On several occasions the hereditary prince commanded separate bodies, and he was often as successful as enterprising.

The battle of Crevelt, which was mentioned at Paris with the greatest discouragement, did not hinder the duke de Broglie from obtaining a complete victory at Bergen near Frankfurt, against those same princes of Brunswick, elsewhere victorious, and of meriting the dignity of marshal of France, after the example of his father and grandfather. It was the same prince who gained the battle of Warbourg, where the marquis of Castre, the prince de Rohan-Rochefort,

his cousin the marquis de Betisi, the count de la Tour du Pin, the marquis de Valence, and a prodigious number of French officers, were wounded. Their misfortunes were proofs of their courage.

The frequent successes of the young hereditary prince did not prevent the prince of Condé, much about his age, and his rival in glory, from getting the advantage of him, six leagues from Francfort towards Veteravie: it was there that the prince of Brunswick was wounded, and that all the French were interested as much for his cure as for their own.

What was the result of this innumerable multitude of battles, of which even the recital, at this day, is tedious

to those who there signalized themselves? What remains after so many battles? Nothing but blood spilled to no purpose in uncultivated and ruined countries, villages destroyed, families reduced to beggary; and but rarely the silent noise of those calamities have reached as far as Paris, always profoundly engaged in pleasures, or in disputes equally frivolous.



## CHAP. XXXIV.

*The French unfortunate in the four  
Quarters of the World. Disasters  
of Governor DU PLEIX. The Pu-  
nishment of LALLY.*

FRANCE, at that time, seemed to be more drained of men and money, in its alliance with Austria, than it had appeared in two hundred years war against it. In the same manner it cost Louis XIV. more to assist Spain than had been spent in fighting against it since the time of Louis XII. The resources of France have healed those wounds; but they have not been able to repair those received in Asia, Africa and America.

The French appeared forthwith triumphant in Asia, and the India company, for its misfortune, was victorious. Ever since the irruption of Shah-Nadir, the empire of India was nothing but anarchy; the Subahs, who are viceroys, or rather tributary kings, bought their kingdoms at court from the great Padisha-Mogul, and resold their provinces to Nabobs, who, for ready money, ceded whole districts to the Rajas. It often happened, that the ministers of the great Mogul, having given a patent for a king, gave the same patent to him who would pay more; Subahs, Nabobs, and Rajas, used the same method; and every one supported, with arms, the right which he had dearly purchased. As for the Marattoes, they declared for him who would

would pay them best, and plundered both friends and foes. Two battalions of French or English could beat those undisciplined multitudes, who had no art, and even wanted courage to neighbouring Marattoes. The weakest then implored the protection of merchants come from France and England, to enable them to be kings in India, because they could furnish them with officers and soldiers from Europe: it was on these occasions that a simple captain could sometimes make a greater fortune in that country, than any general can among us.

While the princes of the peninsula were fighting among themselves, we have seen that those French and English merchants were engaged in war  
also,

also, because their respective kings were at variance in Europe.

After the peace in 1748, governor Du Pleix kept in pay the few troops that he had left, as well the soldiers from Europe whom they call whites, as the blacks of the islands transplanted into India, and the seapoys and pions Indians.

One of the under tyrants of those parts, named Chandasaeb, who was an Arabian adventurer, born in the desert, south-east of Jerusalem, and transplanted into India to push his fortune, had become son-in-law to a nabob at Arcot. This Arab assassinated his father-in-law, his brother, and his nephew; and having experienced a reverse of fortune, in proportion to his crimes, he had recourse to governor

vernor Du Pleix, to obtain the nabobship of Arcot, on which Pondicherry is dependant. Du Pleix forthwith lent him secretly ten thousand louis d'ors, which, joined to the wrecks of the fortune of that villain, procured him the vice-royalty of Arcot. By his money and intrigues he obtained the deploma of viceroy of Arcot. As soon as he was in possession of it, Du Pleix lent him troops. With those troops united to his own, he fought the real viceroy of Arcot: this was the same Anaverdikan aged one hundred and seven years, whom we have already mentioned, who was killed at the head of his army.

The conqueror, Chandasaeb, being possessed of the treasures of the deceased, distributed, to the amount of

two



two hundred thousand livres, amongst the soldiers from Pondicherry ; he heaped presents upon the officers, and afterwards made a gift of thirty-five *aldées* to the India company. *Aldée* signifies *village* ; it is a term still used in Spain since the invasion of the Arabs, who predominated equally in Spain and in India, and whose language left tracts in more than one hundred provinces.

This success awakened the English ; they immediately took the part of the vanquished family. There were two nabobs ; and as the subah or king of Decan was in alliance with the government of Pondicherry, so another king, his competitor, joined himself to the English : thus a bloody war was again lighted between the factories of France  
and

and England, at a time when Europe enjoyed peace.

Both sides shewed great courage; messieurs d'Auteuil, de Buffi, Lafs, and a great many more signalized themselves by actions, which might have gained applause in the armies of marshal Saxe. Above all, there was an exploit as astonishing as it is indubitable; which is, that an officer, named Mr. de la Touche, followed by three hundred Frenchmen, surrounded by an army of eighty thousand men, which threatened Pondicherry, penetrated in the night into their camp, killed twelve hundred men without losing more than two soldiers, put that great army into consternation, and entirely dispersed it. This action was superior to that of the three hundred

dred Spartans at the pass of Thermopolis, since the Spartans perished there, and that the French were conquerors. But perhaps we do not know how to celebrate enough what deserves praise; and the innumerable multitude of our battles extinguishes their glory.

The king, protected by the French, was named Mouza-Feringue; he was nephew to the king favoured by the English. The uncle had taken the nephew prisoner, and had not put him to death according to the custom of the family. He led him loaded with irons in the retinue of his armies with a part of his treasures. Governor Du Pleix managed so well with the officers of the enemy, that in a second battle the conqueror of Mouza-Feringue was assassinated. The captive and

the treasures of his enemy were his conquest. There were in the camp seventeen millions in specie, the greatest part of which Mouza-Feringue promised to the India company; the little French army divided twelve hundred thousand livres. All the officers were better rewarded than they would have been by any potentate of Europe.

Du Pleix received Mouza-Feringue in Pondicherry as a great king does the honours of his court to a neighbouring monarch. The new Subah, who was indebted to him for his crown, gave his protector eighty aldées, a pension of two hundred and forty thousand livres for himself, as much for madam Du Pleix, and one of forty thousand crowns to a daughter of madam du Pleix, in a former marriage.

Chan-

Chandasaeb, the benefactor and protector, was appointed viceroy of Arcot. The pomp of Du Pleix at least equalled that of the two princes; he he went before them, carried in a palanquin, escorted by five hundred guards, preceded by martial music, and followed by armed elephants.

After the death of his dependant, Mouza-Feringue, who was killed in a sedition of his troops, he again named another king, and received from him four small provinces as a gift for the company. He was told from all quarters, that before the expiration of a year, he would make the great mogul tremble; he was sovereign in fact, for having bought a patent of viceroy of the Carnatic, at the chancery of the great mogul, for the moderate sum  
of



of two hundred and forty thousand livres; he found himself equal to his creature, Chandasaeb, and much superior to him by his credit. Though he was a marquis in France, and decorated with the grand order of St. Louis; yet those feeble honours were but trifling, when compared to his dignity and power in India. I have seen letters wherein his wife was treated as a queen: so much success and glory dazzled the eyes of the company, of the proprietors, and even of the ministry; the heat of their enthusiasm was almost as great as in the beginning of the scheme, and their hopes were very differently founded; because it appeared, that the lands alone, which were ceded to the company, produced about thirty-nine millions of livres yearly. In com-

mon, they sold goods to the amount of twenty millions every year in France at Port l'Orient; it seemed that the company might reckon upon fifty millions yearly, all expences paid. There is not a sovereign in Europe, nor perhaps on earth, who is possessed of such a revenue when all the charges are defrayed. Even the excess of those riches ought to have excited suspicions: all that grandeur and prosperity also vanished like a dream; and France, a second time, perceived that its opulence was only chimerical.

The marquis Du Pleix insisted on laying siege to the capital of Madura, in the neighbourhood of Arcate; the English sent succours to that place; the officers represented to him the impossibility of the enterprize; he was obstinate;

obstinate ; and having given orders, more like a king who would be obeyed, than like a man employed for the service of the company : it happened, that besiegers were vanquished by the besieged. One half of his army was killed, and the other taken prisoners : the immense expences lavished for those conquests were lost ; and his dependant, Chandasaeb, having been taken in the route, had his head cut off. It was the famous lord Clive who had the principal part of the victory, and it was by that he began his glorious career, which has since procured almost all Bengal to the English company. He acquired and preserved the grandeur and riches, of which Du Pleix had a glimpse. In fine, ever

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since

since that day, the French company has fallen into the most fatal decay.

In 1753, Du Pleix was recalled. To him who had played the part of a great king, they gave a successor, who only acted as a good merchant. Du Pleix was reduced to litigate the sad remains of his fortune at Paris with the India company, and to solicit audience of his judges in the antichamber. He died soon after of vexation; but Pondicherry was reserved for greater misfortunes.

The fatal war of 1756, having broke out in Europe; the French ministry being afraid, with too great reason, for Pondicherry, and for all the settlements in India, sent thither lieutenant general count Lally; he was an Irishman of one of those three families  
who

who came over to France with that of the unfortunate James the second ; he had so distinguished himself at the battle of Fontenoy, where he had taken several English officers with his own hand, that the king made him a colonel on the field of battle ; and it was he that formed the plan, more daring than practicable, of landing in England with ten thousand men, when prince Charles-Edward was there disputing the crown. His hatred against the English, and his courage gained him the preference to go to fight them on the coast of Coromandel. But unfortunately, he did not join to his valour, the prudence, moderation, and patience necessary for so difficult a commission. He figured to himself that Arcate was still the country of



riches ; that Pondicherry was well provided with every thing ; that he would be completely assisted by the company and by troops, and especially by his old Irish regiment, which he carried over with him ; but he was deceived in all his expectations : he found no money in the coffers ; little ammunition of any sort ; blacks and seapoys unarmed ; some individuals rich, and the colony poor, without any subordination. These objects provoked him, and kindled that bad humour in him, which is so unbecoming in a commander, and which is always hurtful to his affairs. Whereas, if he had kept fair with the council, and had caressed the principal officers, he might have been able to procure assistance of money, to establish union, and put Pondicherry in safety.

The

The directors of the India company had entreated him at his departure to “ reform the numerous abuses, the “ excessive prodigality, and the great “ confusion which absorbed the revenues.” He availed himself too much of that request, and made himself despised of all those who ought to obey him.

In spite of the dismal aspect, under which all things appeared to him, he immediately met with good success. He took fort St. David, some leagues distant from Pondicherry, from the English, and razed its walls. If we want to know the source of his catastrophe, so interesting to all the military, it is necessary to read the letter, which he wrote from the camp before St. David, to M. de Leyrit, who was

governor of Pondicherry for the company.

“ This letter, Sir, shall be an eternal secret between you and me, if you furnish me with means to complete my enterprize. I have left you one hundred thousand livres of my money to help you to defray the expences which it requires. On my arrival, I have not found a resource for one hundred pence in your purse, nor in that of the whole council: you have both refused to employ your credit in it. In the mean time, I look upon you all to be more indebted to the company than me, who unluckily had not the honour of knowing it, but to lose one half of my substance in 1720. If you continue to let me want for  
“ every

“ every thing, and be exposed to face a  
 “ general discontent; I shall not only  
 “ acquaint the king, and the company  
 “ of the great zeal which their agents  
 “ here shew for their service; but I shall  
 “ take effectual measures not to be de-  
 “ pendent, during the short stay which  
 “ I wish to make in this country, upon  
 “ the spirit of party and personal mo-  
 “ tives, with which I see every mem-  
 “ ber busied to the total risque of the  
 “ company.”

Such a letter was not calculated to  
 gain him friends, nor to procure him  
 money. Though he did not extort  
 money; yet he shewed so much envy  
 against those who had enriched them-  
 selves, that it encreased the public  
 antipathy against him. All the ope-  
 rations of war suffered for it. I find  
 in

in a journal of India, written by a principal officer, the following words :

“ He speaks of nothing but chains  
 “ and dungeons, without regard to  
 “ the rank and age of persons. He is  
 “ about to treat Mr. de Moracin him-  
 “ self in this manner. Mr. Lally  
 “ complains of all the world, and all  
 “ the world complains of him. He  
 “ said to Mr. the count de \*\*\*\*\*, I  
 “ am sensible that they detest me, and  
 “ that they would be glad to see me  
 “ at a great distance. I engage my  
 “ word of honour, and I will give it  
 “ you in writing, that if Mr. Leyrit  
 “ will give me five hundred thousand  
 “ livres, I will lay down my charge,  
 “ and go to France in the frigate.”

The journal adds afterwards : “ We  
 “ are to-day at Pondicherry in the  
 “ greatest



“ greatest embarrassment. It is im-  
 “ possible to raise one hundred thou-  
 “ sand rupees, and the soldiers threaten  
 “ to go over to the enemy.”

Notwithstanding this dreadful con-  
 fusion, he had the resolution to lay  
 siege to Madras, and immediately  
 took possession of the Black Town;  
 but that was precisely what hindered  
 him from succeeding before the High  
 Town or Fort St. George. He wrote  
 from his camp before that fort the 11th  
 of February 1759: “ If we fail of  
 “ Madras (as I believe we shall) the  
 “ principal reason, to which it must  
 “ be attributed, is the pillage of fif-  
 “ teen millions at least, as much de-  
 “ vastation as scattering among the  
 “ soldiers; and I am ashamed to tell  
 “ it, among the officers who are not  
 “ attain

“ afraid of using my name, in seizing  
 “ the chelingues of seapoys and others,  
 “ to convey to Pondicherry, a booty,  
 “ which you had a right to stop on  
 “ account of its enormous quantity.”

I have the journal of a general officer, which I have already quoted: the author is no friend to count Lally; he wants a great many; his testimony is, on that account, the more acceptable, when he confirms the same grievances which occasioned Lally to despair. He expresses himself thus particularly:

“ The immense pillage made by  
 “ the troops in the Black Town,  
 “ had brought plenty among them.  
 “ Large warehouses of strong liquors  
 “ had led them to drunkenness, and  
 “ all the evils which it produces. This  
 “ circumstance should have been fore-  
 “ seen:

“ seen : the works, and the entrench-  
 “ ments were all in the hands of  
 “ drunkards. The regiment of Lor-  
 “ rain alone was free from that con-  
 “ tagion ; but the other troops dis-  
 “ tinguished themselves in it. The  
 “ regiment of Lally was outrageous :  
 “ from thence the most shameful  
 “ scenes, and the most destructive of  
 “ subordination and discipline ; officers  
 “ were seen struggling with the sol-  
 “ diers, and a thousand other infamous  
 “ actions ; the detail of which con-  
 “ fined within the bounds of most  
 “ strict truth would appear to be a  
 “ monstrous exaggeration.”

Count Lally wrote in still greater  
 despair this mournful letter : “ Hell  
 “ has spewed me into this country  
 “ of wickedness, and I wait, like  
 “ Jonas,

“ Jonas, for the whale, to receive me  
“ in its belly.”

While such disorder prevailed, nothing could succeed: the siege was raised after losing part of the army. The other enterprizes were still more unfortunate: the troops revolted, and with difficulty appeased: they were twice led by the general to engage in a small island, named Vandavachi, where he had retired. In the second engagement, he was entirely defeated: Buffy, marshal of the camp, the most useful man in India for war and negotiations, was taken prisoner. General Lally remained alone, for some time, in the field of battle, abandoned by all his forces: they were Marrattoes who obtained this victory; and, even that,



that, proves how formidable those Indian republicans are \*.

After a great many other losses, it was at last necessary to retire to Pondichery. An English squadron of sixteen men of war, after an indecisive action, obliged the French squadron, sent to the assistance of the colony, to quit the road of Pondicherry to refit in the island of Bourbon.

There was in the town sixty thousand black inhabitants, and five or six hundred European families, with very little provisions. The general proposed to turn out the Blacks who furnished Pondicherry; but how chace sixty thousand? the counsel durst not

\* Several writers say that they have a king; but they have only an elective chief.



attempt it. The general having resolved to stand the siege to the utmost extremity, and publishing a ban, by which it was forbidden to speak of surrendering on pain of death, was forced to order a strict search to be made after provisions in all the houses of the town. It was but too well known with what contempt and severity he had treated all the counsel: he had said publicly in one of his expeditions; “ I will not wait longer for  
“ the ammunition, which they have  
“ promised me; but will drag go-  
“ vernor Leyrit, and all the counsel  
“ with me;” that governor Leyrit shewed a letter to the officers, addressed a long time before to himself, in which were the following words:  
“ I would rather go to command the  
“ Caffres

“ Caffres, than remain in this Sodom,  
“ which must sooner or later be de-  
“ stroyed by the English fire for want  
“ of that heaven.”

In this manner, by his complaints and turbulent passions, Lally had made himself as many foes as there were officers and inhabitants in Pondicherry.

They returned outrage for outrage ; sticking up at his gate, libels far more insulting than his letters or discourses. He was agitated to such a degree, that at some particular times he appeared to be light-headed : choler and inquietude often produces this sorrowful effect. A son of the nabob, Chandasaeb was at this time a refugee in Pondicherry, with his mother. An officer, lately landed with the French

fleet which is returned, reports that this Indian having often seen the French general totally naked, singing mass and the psalms, seriously demanded of an officer very well known, if it was customary for the king of France to choose a madman for his grand vizir. The officer being astonished, said to him, why do you ask me so strange a question? Because, replied the Indian, your grand vizir has sent us a madman to settle the affairs of India.

By this time the English had blocked up Pondicherry both by sea and land, and the general had no other resource than to treat with the Morattoes who had conquered him. They had promised to assist him with eighteen thousand men; but suspecting he had no money

to give them, not one appeared, and Pondicherry was obliged to be surrendered, the council of which summoned the count de Lally to capitulate. He called a council of war, and the officers concluded to surrender themselves prisoners of war, according to the established cartels; but general Coote would have the town submit at discretion. The French having destroyed St. David's, the English had a right to make a desert of Pondicherry: count Lally in vain laying claim to the cartel, both by word of mouth and in writing. The people perished with hunger in the town, which was delivered to the conquerors, who soon after erac'd the fortifications, the walls, the magazines, and all the principal houses.

At the very time the English entered the town, the conquered loaded each other with reproaches and injuries; the inhabitants fought the general's life; and the English commander was obliged to give him a guard, and he was removed in a sedan. He had two pistols in his hands, with which he threatened the lives of the mutineers, who, respecting the English guard, ran to the commissary of war, who was an ancient officer, intendant of the army, and a chevalier of the order of St. Louis, who drew his sword, but one of the most furious advanced towards him, was wounded by it and killed him.

Such was the deplorable condition of Pondicherry; the inhabitants of which had done themselves more harm  
than



than their conquerors. The general and upwards of two thousand prisoners were transported into England; and even in their long and dangerous voyage they reciprocally accused each other with their common misfortunes.

They had been hardly arrived in London, when they wrote against Lally, and all those who had been attached to him. Lally and his party wrote against the council, the officers, and the inhabitants; he was so far persuaded that they were all reprehensible, and that he only was in the right, that he came to Fontainbleau, though an English prisoner, and offered to surrender himself up to the Bastille. He was taken at his word; and as soon as he was confined, the croud of his enemies, instead of being diminished

by compassion, were augmented: he remained fifteen months in prison without being once examined.

In the year 1764, Lavour, a jesuit, who had been a long time employed as a missionary in the Indies, died at Paris; and, under pretence of spiritual affairs in the Indies, he was busy in profane ones, where they have often gained more money than souls. This Jesuit demanded from the ministry a pension of four hundred livres, to go and pay his respects in Perigordia, which was his country, and they found in his box about one million one hundred thousand livres of effects, either in bills or jewels. This has been also lately seen at Naples, at the death of the famous jesuit Peppe, whom they were ready to canonize. But this was  
not

not the fate of Lavour, his treasures were sequestrated. In this box he had a long memorial in separate pieces against Lally, in which he was accused of embezzlement and high-treason. The writings of the jesuits had at this time as little credit as their persons, being banished France; but this memorial appeared with such circumstances, and the enemies of Lally made it of such importance, that it served as a testimony against him.

Lally was directly removed from the castle, and soon after brought before the parliament. The process was two years preparing. Of treason he was not guilty, since, if he had kept a secret correspondence with the English, or had sold Pondicherry, he would

have remained with them. The English, on the contrary, are not absurd; and they would have been quite so, if they had bought a place nearly starved, that they were sure of taking, being masters both at land and sea. Of embezzlement, he could take no advantage, as he was neither in charge of the king's or company's money. But of cruelty, of abuse, of power, and oppressors, the judges saw much in the unanimous dispositions of his enemies.

Being always firmly persuaded that he had been only rigorous and not culpable, he carried his imprudence to that pitch as even to insult in his juridical memorials, officers who had the general approbation, and would dishonour them and all the council of

Pon-

Pondicherry. The more he persisted in his obstinacy of clearing himself at their expence, the blacker he appeared: each of these officers had a number of friends, and he had none: the judges could give sentence only according to the depositions; and they condemned Lally to be beheaded, as justly attainted of having betrayed the interests of the king, of the kingdom, and the India company; of abuse of power, promoting of troubles, and guilty of impositions.

It is necessary to remark that these words: *betrayed the interests of the king*, has a different signification to what is termed in England, high-treason, and by us, *leze-majesté*. In our definition it signifies only, a bad conduct, to forget the advantage of some one, to be  
unmindful



unmindful of his interests, and not perfidious and traitorous. When his accusation was read, his surprise and indignation was so violent, that having by chance a compass in his hand, with which he amused himself in prison, in drawing charts of the coasts of Coromandel, he would have stabbed himself, but was with-held; and behaved with greater insolence towards his judges, than he had yet displayed against his enemies: this is, perhaps, a fresh proof of that firm persuasion he always remained in, that he was rather deserving of recompences than punishments.

Those who have a knowledge of human heart, are sensible, that commonly the guilty are punished by a conscientious conviction; that they do

not

not rave at their judges, and that they continue in a melancholy confusion. There has never been one single instance of an accused person acknowledging his crime, and charging his judges with injuries and ignominy. I do not pretend that this was a proof of Lally's entire innocence, but it was a proof that he believed himself so. A gag was put into his mouth, which projected out of his lips, and being placed in a cart, he was conducted to the place of execution. Men are so inconsiderate, that this hideous sight drew more compassion than his punishment.

The arret confiscated his wealth, for raising a sum of one hundred thousand crowns for the poor of Pondicherry, and word has been written that  
this

this sum cannot be raised out of it. I never positively affirm what I am unacquainted with\*. If any thing could convince us of this fatality, which produced all the events in this chaos of the political affairs of the world, 'tis to see an Irishman driven from his country with his royal master's family, commander of six thousand combined French troops in a merchants war, upon lands unknown to the Alexanders, Gengis, or Tamerlanes dying of the severest punishment upon the borders of the

\* Almost all the journals have said, that the Parisian parliament have sent deputies to the king to supplicate him not to extend his mercy to Lally: this is very false. Such an obstinate cruelty, incompatible with justice and humanity, would have cast upon the parliament an universal shame.

Seine,

Seine, for having been taken by the English in the ancient gulph of the Ganges.

This catastrophe, which, in all its circumstances, to me appears worthy of being transmitted to posterity, has not permitted me to mention all the misfortunes that the French experienced both in India and America. — This has been a sorrowful recapitulation.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*The Losses of the FRENCH.*

THE first loss of the French in India was that of Chandernagor, an important post, of which the French India company were in possession towards the mouth of the Ganges, from thence they drew their best merchandize.

Since the taking of the town and fort of Chandernagor, the English never ceased ruining the commerce of the French in India. The government of the emperor was so weak and bad, that he could not prevent the European merchants from making leagues and wars in his own kingdom.

The



The English had even the boldness to come and attack Surat, one of the finest towns in India, and greatest place of traffic belonging to the emperor: they took it, pillaged it, and destroyed the banks of France, and gained immense riches, without the court of the grand mogul, even as weak as it was pompous, seeming to resent this outrage, who had, in the reign of Aurengzebe exterminated all the English in Asia.

In short, nothing more was left to the French in this part of the world than the regret of having expended, in the space of forty years and upwards, immense sums to support a company, who had never made the least profit, and who had paid nothing to the proprietors and their creditors

tors from their commercial profit; and which in its Indian administration had subsisted only by means of secretly pilfering and plundering, and was supported only by renting of the king a part of the tax on tobacco; a memorable example, though perhaps useless, from the small knowledge that the French have had, 'till now, of the great and ruinous commerce with India.

At the same time that the fleets and armies of England had thus ruined the French in Asia, they also drove them out of Africa: the French were masters of the river Senegal, which is a branch of the Niger; there they have forts, and a great commerce of elephants teeth, gold dust, gum arabick, ambergrease, and particularly  
a traffic

a traffic of negroes, who are sometimes sold by princes as if they were cattle; and who often sell their own children, and sometimes themselves to serve the Europeans in America. The English took all the forts which the French had built in these countries, and more than three millions which had been converted into the richest commodities.

The last establishment that remained in the possession of the French here was Goree, which surrendered at discretion, and now they had lost all footing in Africa.

But in America they had sustained much greater losses. Without entering here into the detail of an hundred skirmishes, and the loss of all their forts one after the other; let it

suffice to say, that Louisbourg was the second time taken by the English; and as bad in its fortification and provision, as it was at the first. Lastly, at the very time that the English entered Surat at the mouth of the Indus, they took also Quebec, and all Canada, to the bottom of North-America; and those troops which had ventured a battle in the defence of Quebec, were beaten, and almost destroyed, in spite of the efforts of general Montcalm, who was killed in this fight, and much regretted in France: thus one thousand five hundred leagues of land were, in one day, lost to France.

These one thousand five hundred leagues, three parts of which were frozen deserts, was not perhaps a real loss. Canada cost a great deal, and  
remitted

remitted very little. If the tenth part of the money thrown away upon this colony had been employed to cultivate the waste lands in France, it would have been of considerable advantage to them ; but as the French were fond of keeping Canada, they had one hundred years of trouble, and all the money squandered without any return.

To complete the misfortune, almost all those who had been employed in the king's name in this miserable colony, were accused of the most horrible frauds, and they were sent to the castle at Paris, during the time that the parliament were proceeding against Lally. He, after having an hundred times exposed his life, lost it by the hands of the executioner ; while the Canadian extortioners were obliged



only to make restitution and amends : such is the difference in the decision of affairs, which, to appearance, are all the same.

At the time that the English thus attacked the French on the Continent, they were turned out from the coast of the islands. Guadeloupe, though small, yet flourishing, and where the finest of sugars are manufactured, fell into the English hands without a stroke in its defence.

Further ; they also took Martinico, which was the richest and best colony the French possessed.

The kingdom of France could not repair these great disasters without still losing all the ships which they sent to prevent them ; scarce was a fleet put out to sea than it was either taken

or

or destroyed; they built and armed vessels with the greatest hurry; this was working for the English, to whom they soon became a prey.

When they would revenge such a succession of losses by making a descent into Ireland, it cost them immense sums for an abortive undertaking; for as soon as the fleet destined for this descent was sailed from Brest, it was either dispersed or taken, or lost in the mud of the river Vilaine, upon which they had in vain sought a refuge. Lastly, the English took Belleisle in sight of the coasts of France, who could not succour it.

The duke of Aiguillon alone revenged these coasts of numbers of affronts and losses: an English fleet having made another descent at St.

Cas near St. Malo, all the country was exposed. The duke, who commanded, marched thither at the head of the Bretagne nobility, some battalions, and the militia, whom he met upon the road. He forced the English to re-embark : one party of their arrear guard was killed, and another made prisoners of war ; but the French had otherwise been every way unfortunate.

The English had never such a superiority at sea as at this time ; but at all times they had it over the French. The naval force of France they destroyed in the war of 1741 ; they humbled that of Louis XIV. in the war of the Spanish succession ; they triumphed at sea in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Henry IV. and more so in the unhappy  
times

times of the confederacy. Henry VIII. of England had the same advantage over Francis I.

If we examine into past times we shall find that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip de Valois, could not withstand those of the kings Henry V. and Edward III. of England.

What can be the reason of this continual superiority? Is it not that the sea is so essentially necessary to the English, of which the French can do well enough without, and that nations always succeed (as I have already remarked) in those things for which they have an absolute occasion? Is it not also because the capital of England is a sea-port, and that Paris knows only the boats of the Seine? Is it that the the English climate produces men of

a more vigorous constitution, and a more steady mind than that of France, as it produces the best horses and dogs for hunting? But from Bayonne, even to the coasts of Picardy and Flanders, France has men of an indefatigable labour; and Normandy alone has formerly subdued England.

Affairs were in this deplorable condition both by sea and land, when a man of an active and bold genius, but prudent, having views as great as those of marshal Belleisle, with more spirit, observed that France could not alone repair so many enormous losses. He found means to engage Spain to support the quarrel; he made a common cause of all the branches of the house of Bourbon. By this means, Spain and Austria were joined with France  
in



in the same interest: Portugal was in effect an English province, and of whom she drew fifteen millions yearly; it was necessary for him to begin at this corner, and this was what determined don Carlos, king of Spain, by the death of his brother Ferdinand, to enter Portugal. This manœuvre is perhaps the greatest politic scheme of which modern history makes mention; and even this did not succeed: the English resisted Spain, and saved Portugal.

Under Philip II. Spain alone conquered all Europe; and now, though joined to the French, could do nothing with England. Count de la Lippe Schombourg, a Westphalian lord, who was in his youth, and 'till then never had a command, and even scarcely  
been

been in the service, being sent to the succour of Portugal by the king of England, at the head of some Hanoverians and a few English, always repulsed the Spaniards from behind their frontiers; and an English fleet made them pay dear in America for their tardy declaration in favour of France.

The Havana, built upon the north coast of Cuba, the greatest American island, at the entry of the gulf of Mexico, is the rendezvous of this new world: the port, as large as it was secure, could contain one thousand vessels. It is defended by three forts, from whence went a cross fire, which rendered the landing impossible to enemies. The earl of Albemarle, and admiral Pocock came to attack the isle, but took great care of approaching  
the

the port; they descended upon a distant flat-shore which was imagined impossible to be landed on. The most considerable fort they besieged by land, which they took, and forced the town, the forts, and all the island to surrender, with twelve ships of war which were in the port, and twenty-seven vessels laden with treasure. They found in the town twenty-four millions of livres at an estimation, which was divided between the conquerors, who set aside the 16th part of this booty for the poor. The ships of war belonged of right to the king; but the merchantmen, to the admiral and all the officers of the fleet, and this prize amounted to more than twenty-four millions. It has been remarked, that in this and the preceding war,

Spain

Spain lost more than they imported from America during the space of twenty years.

The English, not content with having taken the Havana in the Mexican sea, and the island of Cuba, extended their conquests to the Philippine islands in the Indian sea, which are very near the antipodes of Cuba. These islands are not much less than those of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and would be richer if they were well managed, one of them having golden mines, and their coasts producing pearls. The great Acapulca vessel, loaded to the value of three millions of piastres arrived at Manilla, the capital, which the English took with the isles and this ship, notwithstanding the assurances given by a jesuit in the name of  
St.

St. Potamienne (the patron of the town) that Manilla would never be taken.

Thus the war, which impoverished other nations, enriched one part of England, while the other groaned under the weight of the most rigorous taxes, though all equally engaged in the war.

The French were at this time more unfortunate: all the resources were exhausted; almost all the citizens, by the king's example, converted their plate into money. The principal towns, and some societies, furnished men of war at their own expence; but these ships were not yet built, and when they would have been, there were not seamen sufficient to man them.



They were masters of Flanders, and were on the point of taking of Maastricht; but they wanted bread in all the south parts of France; and had no more shipping in a condition to protect the vessels, which could bring them corn; no more succours, money or credit: those who had been chosen to manage the finances, after some months administration, were turned out; and others refused this employment, in which, at this juncture, it was impossible to act with satisfaction.

In this sorrowful situation, which discouraged all orders of the kingdom, the duke de Praslin, then minister of foreign affairs, was ingenious and happy enough to conclude the peace,  
the

the duke de Choiseul, minister of war, having begun the negotiations.

The king of France exchanged Minorca, which he had restored to Spain, for Belleisle; which the English restored to the French, who lost, and probably for ever, all Canada, with Louisbourg, which has cost so much money and pains to be so often a prey to the English. All the land, upon the left of the great river Mississippi, was ceded to them: Spain, to compleat their conquests, also gave them Florida: thus, from the 25th degree to the Pole, almost all was in the possession of the English, who divided the American hemisphere with the Spaniards. The latter possess the lands which produce the riches of convention; the former, real riches, purchased by silver  
and

and gold, all the necessaries of life, and every thing useful for manufactories. The English coasts, for the space of six hundred leagues, are divided by navigable rivers, by which their merchandizes are conveyed for forty or fifty leagues inland. The Germans were induced to people this acquired country, where they found a liberty which they were never so happy as to enjoy in their own: they became English; and if all these colonies remain united to their metropolis, it is not to be doubted but this establishment will some time or other make the most formidable power. The war commenced for a few pitiful huts, and England has gained two thousand leagues of ground.

The

The small islands of St. Vincent, the Grenades, Tabago and Dominico, was still kept by them; and it is by the means of these islands, as well as Jamaica that they maintain an immense commerce with the Spaniards: a commerce severely prohibited, and always carried on, because of its assistance to two nations, and that the law of necessity claims the preference to all others.

France could obtain only (and that with great difficulty) the right of fishing towards Newfoundland, and a little uncultivated island, named Michelon, to dry their cod-fish, under the restriction of not making the least establishment;—a pitiful right, always subject to encroachments.

She was also excluded in the Indies from her establishment upon the

Ganges, she ceded her possessions at Senegal in Africa; and was obliged to demolish all the fortifications at Dunkirk on the sea-side.

This kingdom lost, in the course of this horrible war, great part of the flower of its youth, more than half of the current money of the kingdom, its navy, commerce and credit. It was believed that it was very easy to have prevented all these misfortunes, by giving up to the English a little piece of litigated ground towards Canada. But some ambitious persons, to make themselves necessary and important, plunged France into this fatal war. It was the same in the year 1741—the selfishness of two or three individuals is sufficient to desolate all Europe. France had so pressing an occasion,



casion for this peace, that they considered the concluders of it as the saviors of their country: the national debt was greater than that of Louis XIV. The extraordinary expences of this war amounted in one year to four hundred millions: judge of the rest by this; France would have been greatly the loser had she even been victorious.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*Interior Government of FRANCE. Quarrels and Adventures from 1750 to 1762.*

FOR a long time before this terrible war, and during its continuance, the interior parts of France were troubled with that ancient and indeterminable war between the secular jurisdiction and the ecclesiastical discipline: the extent of their power having never been limited as it now is in England, in other countries, and particularly in Russia; dangerous dissensions will always arise as long as the rights of the monarchy, and those of its different members are in dispute.

About the year 1750, a minister of the finances was found bold enough to issue an order that the clergy, and the religious orders should give an account of their wealth; to the end that the king might see, by what they possessed, how far they were taxable. Never was a proposition more just, but its consequences gave it the appearance of a sacrilege. An old bishop of Marseilles wrote to the comptroller-general thus: "Do not drive  
" us to the necessity of disobeying  
" either God or our King; you are  
" sensible which of the two should  
" have the preference." This letter from the bishop, worn out with age, and incapable of writing, was written by a jesuit named La Maire, who governed the bishop and his house. This jesuit

was a zealous fanatic—a sort of men who are always dangerous

The minister was obliged to drop an undertaking that he ought not to have hazarded, if it could not be supported. Some individuals of the clergy imagined now, that they could fully employ the government by an embarrassing diversion, and to put the spiritual body in alarm, in order to make the temporal respect them. They knew that the famous bull *Unigenitus*, was held in execration by the people. It was resolved to demand of dying persons, confessional notes; and it was made necessary that these notes should be signed by priests adhering to the bull, without which, no vaticum, no extreme unction; and these two consolations were refused

refused without pity to all appellants, and to those who confessed to appellants. The archbishop of Paris, engaged deeply in this manœuvre, more from theological zeal than factious inclination.

In the instant, every family was alarmed, the schism was announced, and many of the sect of Jansenists began to exclaim, that if the sacraments were to be obtained with such difficulty, the people would soon dispense with them in imitation of other nations. These insignificant sectaries engaged the attention of the Parisians, more than all the important interests of Europe. They were a kind of insects sprung from the carcases of Molinism and Jansenism, which, buzzing round the city, stung all the

U 4                      citizens;



citizens; no remembrance of Metz, of Fontenoy, of their disgraces or victories, or of any of those great events which had agitated all Europe. In Paris there were fifty thousand persons possessed like devils, who knew not in what country the Danube or the Elbe flowed, and who thought the universe overturned with by these notes of confession.—Such are the common people!

A curate of St. Etienne du Mont, a little parish of Paris, having refused the sacrament to a councillor of the chatelet, the parliament committed him to prison.

The king beholding this little civil war, excited between the parliaments and bishops, forbid his courts of judicature to intermeddle with the affairs of the  
sacra-

sacraments, and reserved the cognizance thereof to his privy-council. The parliaments complained that the exercise of the general police of the kingdom was taken from them, and the clergy impatiently submitted to the royal authority, to quell these religious quarrels; thus animosities increased on all sides.

The place of superior of the hospital for girls, served to light up the flames of discord. The archbishop claimed the prerogative of nomination, the parliament opposed it; and the king, having decided in favour of the prelate, the parliament ceased to perform its functions, and neglected the distribution of justice: he then found it expedient to send, by his musqueteers, letters under his hand and seal, commanding

manding them to re-assume their functions, under pain of disobedience.

The chambers then set according to custom; but when they were to hear causes, they could find no advocates. These proceedings resembled in some measure the time of the league; but being stripped of the horrors of civil war, they appeared only under a form susceptible of absurdity and ridicule.

This folly, however, was very embarrassing: the king resolved to extinguish, by his moderation, this fire which caused an apprehension of a general conflagration: he exhorted the clergy not to use dangerous rigours; and the parliament proceeded again to business.

But soon after the notes of confession re-appeared, and fresh denials  
of

of the sacraments irritated all Paris, The same curate of St. Etienne being found guilty of a second prevarication, was sent for to parliament, who forbid him, and all the curates, to give the like scandal under pain of a temporal seizure. The same decree invited the archbishop to put an end to this scandal by his own authority. This term of invitation seemed to agree with the views of the king's moderation. The archbishop would not even allow the secular power to have the right of giving him an invitation, and went to Versailles and complained. He was supported in this by an ancient bishop of Mirepoix, named Boyer, charged with the office of presenting to the king, proper persons for ecclesiastical benefices: this man, formerly Theatin, afterwards bishop, and then

then minister of this department, was of a very limited understanding, but zealous for the immunities of the church, regarding the bull as an article of faith, and having great credit attached to his place: he insinuated that the parliament undermined the authority of the church; the parliamentary decree was annulled, which occasioned strong and pathetic remonstrances on their part.

The king ordered that all these matters should be left to him, and that they should give an account of all the denunciations that were made upon these matters, reserving to himself the right of punishing those priests whose scandalous zeal should revive the seeds of schism. By a sentence of his council of state, he forbid his subjects giving one another the name of Novellists, Jansenists, and

Semi-



Semi-pelagians: this was ordering madmen to be wise.

The curates of Paris, excited by the archbishop, presented a petition to the king, in favour of the notes of confession; immediately the parliament arrested the curate of St. John's in Greves, who had framed the petition; and the king again annulled this proceeding of justice: the parliament neglected their business; and continued their remonstrances, and the king persisted in exhorting the two parties to peace; but his cares proved useless.

A letter from the bishop of Marseilles, condemned by the parliament, was burnt by the hands of the hangman; a writing of the bishop of Amiens shared the same fate; the clergy being assembled

sembled at this time at Paris, to pay the five years subsidies to the king as usual, resolved to go in their pontificals, and present their complaints; but he would not receive them in this extraordinary ceremony.

On the other side, the parliament condemned a bearer of the sacrament in a fine, to ask pardon upon his knees, and to be admonished; and a vicar of a parish to banishment, and the king annulled the sentence.

These troublesome affairs multiplied: the king always recommended peace, although the ecclesiastics still refused the administration of the sacraments, and the parliament continued to proceed against the divines.

At last, the king gave the parliaments permission to judge of the sacraments,

eraments, in cases brought before them; but he forbid them seeking jurisdiction, if the parties did not complain to them. They then a second time resumed their function; and persons at law, who had been neglected for these affairs, had the liberty to ruin themselves according to custom.

Fire always lies hid under the ashes: the archbishop having ordered the sacrament to be refused to two poor old nuns of St. Agathe, who had formerly understood the bull *Unigenitus* to be a diabolical work, who feared to incur damnation if they received this bull at their deaths, and were also fearful of it if they failed receiving extreme unction: the parliament sent their register to the archbishop, and prayed him not to refuse the common assistance

assistance to these two women; and the prelate answering, according to custom, that he ought not to account to any one but God alone, his temporalities were seized, and the princes of the blood, and the peers, were invited to come and take their seats at parliament.

The quarrel then might have become serious; and it was feared that the times of the league were again appearing. The king forbid his princes and peers to go and vote in the parliament upon those matters, which right he attributed to his privy-council. The archbishop of Paris had even the credit to obtain a sentence of the council, to dissolve the little community of St. Agathe, where  
the

the women had so bad an opinion of the bull of Unigenitus.

All Paris murmured : these little troubles spread in more than one town ; the same scandals, the same denials of the sacraments divided the town of Orleans ; the parliaments issued the same ordinances for Orleans as for Paris ; the schism made head again itself ; a curate of Rosainvillers, a diocese of Amiens, thought proper to say to his audience, “ That those which “ were Jansenists must depart the “ church, and that he would be the “ first to dip his hands in their blood.” He had the audaciousness to point out some people of his parish, at whom the most fervent constitutionalists threw stones during the procession, without either the stoners or the stoned having



the least knowledge of the meaning of the bull and jansenism.

Such a violence might have been punished with death: the parliament of Paris, Amiens being within its jurisdiction, was contented to banish for life this fractious and sanguinary priest; and the king approved of this sentence, which was not inflicted purely for a spiritual discourse, but for the crime of sedition, and disturbance of the public repose.

In the midst of these troubles, Louis XV. was, like a father, busied in parting two fighting children: he forbid blows and insults; he reprimanded one party and exhorted the other; he ordered silence, forbidding the parliaments to judge in spiritual affairs, and recommending circumspection to the bishops,

bishops, regarding the bull as a law of the church, but not willing that they should insist upon so dangerous a point. His paternal care could do but little with animated, revengeful minds. The parliaments pretended that they could not separate the spiritual from the civil, and that spiritual quarrels necessarily introduced civil commotions. The parliament of Paris summoned the bishop of Orleans to appear for the sacraments, and ordered the hangman to burn all the writings in which its jurisdiction was contested, except the declarations of the king, sending counsellors to register their decree in the Sorbonne, in spite of the king's orders. The hangman was seen daily employed in burning the mandates of the bishops, and the tri-

bunals of justice enforced the administration of the sacraments to the sick by military aid. The parliament in all its steps consulted only its own laws, and the maintenance of its authority; the king had a farther view, and considered those political conveniences which often require the laws to give way.

In short, for the third time, the parliament ceased to distribute justice to the citizens, and employed themselves solely about the refusal of the sacraments, which agitated all France.

The king sent also to parliament, for the third time, mandatory letters, ordering them to fulfil their duties, and not to make his subjects, having suits depending, suffer any longer delay for these foreign disputes; the affairs  
of

of private persons having no relation to the bull Unigenitus.

The parliament replied, that they should violate their oath if they acknowledged the letters patent of the king, and that they could not *obtemperer* (an old word, derived from the Latin, signifying *to obey*).

The king then thought himself obliged to banish all the members *des enquetes*, some to Burges, others to Poitiers, and the rest to Auvergne, and to order four of them to imprisonment who had spoken with the greatest zeal.

The grand chamber was spared; but even they thought it was not to their honour to be so, and persisted in their neglect of justice, and proceeding against the refractory. The king then sent them to Pontoise, a village six miles from

Paris, where the duke of Orleans had already sent them during his regency.

All Europe was astonished that they made so much noise in France for so trifling an affair; and the French passed for a frivolous nation, who, for want of enforcing good laws, put every thing in disorder about a dispute every where else despised. After having seen five hundred thousand men in arms for the election of an emperor; and Europe, India, and America desolated, that they should afterwards fall back into this paper-war; resembled a gentle shower of rain after a thunderstorm. But it ought to be recollected, that Germany, Sweden, Holland and Switzerland had formerly experienced much greater confusions for such absurdities; that the inquisition of Spain  
was



was worse than a civil war, and that every nation has its follies and misfortunes.

The parliament of Normandy imitated the Parisian with regard to the sacraments; citing the bishop of Evreux, and also neglecting the administration of justice. His majesty sent an officer of his guards to cancel their registers: they were at last more obedient than that of Paris.

Distributive justice interrupted in the capital, would have been a great happiness if mankind were just and wise; but as they are neither one nor the other, and will go to law, the king ordered the members of his state-council, to determine all processes brought before them by appeal. He ordered his commission, instituting this jurisdiction, to be enregistered at the

Chatelet: as if it were necessary for an inferior court to give authenticity to the royal authority: the use of these registers has almost always had its inconveniencies; but this default of formality might, perhaps, have still greater. The Chatelet refused to enregister; but they were obliged to it by mandatory letters. The royal council assembled, but the advocates would not plead; they were made a joke of in Paris; they even laughed at their own commission; every thing was turned into pleasantry, according to the genius of this nation, which always laughs the next day at what caused a general consternation and alarm the preceding evening. The ecclesiastics, on their part, could hardly contain their excessive joy on this fresh triumph.

Boyer,

Boyer, the old bishop of Mirepoix, who had been the first author of all these troubles, though not intentionally, being fallen into a dotage, owing to his great age, and the weak construction of his organs, every thing now inclined to a conciliation; and the ministry negotiated with the parliament of Paris, which was recalled, and came back, to the satisfaction of the whole town, ushered in with the acclamations of the populace, who cried, Long live the parliament; its return was in triumph. His majesty, who was as much fatigued with the inflexibility of the divines as of the parliaments, ordered peace and silence, and permitted the secular judges to proceed against those who disturbed either.

Yet

Yet the Schism broke out from time to time in Paris and the provinces ; and, in spite of the measures that the king had taken to prevent the refusal of the sacraments, many bishops endeavoured to make a merit of it at the court of Rome. A bishop of Nantz having given in his town this example of rigour, or scandal, was condemned by the presidial of Nantz, to pay a fine of six thousand francs ; and submitted to the sentence without any relief from the royal interposition, so heartily tired was the king grown of these disputes.

The like scenes happened in all the kingdom ; and while they afflicted the parties instructed, they amused the idle multitude. In Orleans, there was an old canon, a Jansenist, who died, to whom his brother canons refused the communion ;

munion; and the parliament of Paris condemned them to pay twelve thousand livres, and gave orders that the sick should receive the communion. The lieutenant criminal of consequence set every thing in order for this ceremony, as for an execution; the prebends, however, so contrived that their brother died without the sacraments, and they buried him in the most pitiful manner they could.

Nothing was become more common in the kingdom than to administer the communion by a sentence of parliament. The king having banished his secular judges, for not having *obtempéré* to his orders, in order to shew his impartiality, banished also such of the clergy as were stiffly bent on schism, and began with the archbishop of Paris. He was con-



fined to his house of Conflans, about three leagues from the town; a sweet exile, which resembled rather a paternal restraint than a punishment.

The bishops of Orleans and Troy were in like manner banished to their country-houses, and with the same mildness. The archbishop of Paris, being still as inflexible in his exile as when in his episcopal dignity, was banished to a greater distance.

The parliament of Paris now acting unrestrained, reproved the Sorbonne, who, having formerly regarded the bull with horror, now looked upon it as an article of faith. The Sorbonne threatened to stop their public lectures; and the parliament, which had itself neglected more important business, ordered this faculty to continue their's:  
they

they maintained the liberties of the Gallican church, and the king approved it; but when the parliament went too far, the king stopped them, by confirming those decrees which tended to the public good, and by annulling those which appeared to him to be rash and intemperate.

This monarch always saw himself between two powerful, animated factions, as the Roman emperors were between the blue and green: he was taken up with the maritime war, which England was just beginning with him: a land-war appeared inevitable; and it was no longer a time to contend about bulls.

But it was still necessary for the king to appease the disputes subsisting between his grand council and the parliaments; for scarcely any thing being determined in France by precise laws;

the

the bounds and privileges of each body being uncertain ; the clergy being always inclined to extend their jurisdiction ; the chamber of accounts having disputed with the parliaments many of their prerogatives ; the peers having often pleaded their's against the parliament of Paris, it was not to be wondered at that the grand council should likewise have disputes with them.

This grand council was originally the king's council, and used to accompany the sovereigns in all their travels. Every thing by degrees altered in public administration, and the grand council changed also. Under Charles VIII. it was only a court of judicature ; it decided concerning evocations, the competency of judges, and all proceedings respecting all the benefices of the kingdom, except the regal ; and had a  
right

right also to try their proper officers. A counsellor, belonging to this court, was summoned to the Chatelet for debt; the grand council claimed the cause, and set aside the sentence of the Chatelet: immediately the parliament was in an alarm, and rendered void the sentence of the grand council, and the king annulled that of the parliament. Fresh remonstrances, fresh quarrels succeeded; all the parliaments rose against the grand council, and the public divided on the dispute. The parliament of Paris again convoked the peers to assemble in a body about this dispute, and the king forbid this association to his peers: thus this affair, like many others, remains undecided.

In the mean time, the king had more important occupations; it was necessary

necessary to carry on against the English a burthensome war both by sea and land; yet he established, at this time, the memorable foundation of the military school, the finest monument of his reign, and which the empress-queen, Maria-Theresa, has since imitated: He wanted money for these great concerns, and the parliaments hesitated not a little in registering the edicts, which ordered the collection of two twentieths; they have been since obliged to pay three; because, whenever there is a war, either the citizens must fight or pay those that will: there is no alternative.

The king held a bed of justice at Versailles, where he convoked the princes and the peers with the Parisian parliament: there he ordered his edict

to



to be registered; but the parliament of Paris protested against it, and pretended that not only it had been deprived of the necessary liberty of examination, but that this edict required modifications which would neither prejudice the interests of the king nor those of the kingdom, which are in reality the same, which it was bound to maintain; and said further, that its duty was not to please but to serve: thus zeal combatted obedience.

The thorns of schism interfered with this important affair of the taxes: a counsellor of the parliament lying sick at his country house, in the diocese of Meaux, demanded the sacraments; a minister refused them to him as an enemy of the church, and let him die

without this solemn rite; they proceeded against the minister, who took flight.

The archbishop of Aix having made a new formulary upon the bull, and the parliament of Aix had sentenced him to pay ten thousand livres to the poor: and thus lost his formulary and money.

The bishop of Troyes having troubled his diocese, the king sent him prisoner to a monastery in Alsace. The archbishop of Paris, who had been permitted to return to Conflans, pronounced an excommunication against those who read the ordinances and remonstrances of the parliament upon the bull and letters of confession.

Louis XV. embarrassed by such a number of animosities, carried his circum-

cumſpection ſo far as to aſk the advice of Pope Lambertini, Benedict XIV. a man as moderate as himſelf, beloved throughout Chriſtendom for the mildneſs and vivacity of his character, and whoſe loſs is to this hour regretted. He never engaged in any affair but to recommend peace; his ſecretary of the briefs, cardinal Paſſionei, was his principal agent; and at that time the only man of letters in the ſacred college: he was of ſo elevated a genius as to deſpiſe the diſputes in queſtion; he hated the Jeſuits who had fabricated the bull, and could not be ſilent upon the falſe ſtep that had been made at Rome, by condemning in this bull virtuous maxims, whoſe truth is immortal, and adapted to all times and nations: the

following for example, “ the fear of an  
 “ unjust excommunication ought not  
 “ to hinder us from the performance  
 “ of our duty.”

This maxim is in all the world the  
 safeguard of virtue. All the ancients  
 and moderns have said, that duty  
 ought to prevail over the fear of pu-  
 nishment.

But however surprising the bull ap-  
 peared in more than one point, neither  
 the cardinal Passionei, nor the pope,  
 could retract a constitution regarded as  
 a law of the church. Benedict XIV. sent  
 to the king a circular letter for all the  
 bishops of France; in which he ac-  
 knowledged this bull as an universal  
 law, against which no resistance could  
 be made, “ without endangering their  
 “ eternal salvation ;” but decided  
 finally,

finally, that, “ to avoid scandal, it  
 “ was necessary for the priest to cau-  
 “ tion sick persons, who were sus-  
 “ pected of Jansenism, that they in-  
 “ curred damnation, and then to let  
 “ them communicate at their peril.”

The same pope, in his private letter to the king, recommended to him the episcopal rights : when a pope is consulted upon any occasion whatever, we must expect that his advice will be conformable to his station.

But Benedict XIV. while he maintained the respect due to his rank, did all he could in favour of the king's authority, of general benevolence, and of the peace of the nation. His brief, addressed to the bishops, was printed ; the parliament had the courage, or rather the rashness to condemn and sup-



press it by an arret: this proceeding offended the king still more, because it was he who had sent this brief to the bishops which the parliament had condemned. In this brief, neither the liberties of the Gallican church, or the royal authority, were mentioned, which the parliament had maintained and vindicated at all times. The court discovered in the censure of the parliament more ill humour than moderation.

The council believed that they had another subject on which they could reprove the parliament of Paris; many other superior courts, which bore the name of parliaments, intitled themselves, "Classes of the parliament of the kingdom;" a title which the chancellor of the hospital had given them,

them, and signified only the union of the parliaments in the intelligence and maintenance of the laws: the parliaments did not pretend to represent the whole state divided into different companies, which all together making a single body, constitute the perpetual states-general of the kingdom: this idea would have been very great; but it would have been too much, and the royal authority was enraged at it.

These considerations, joined to the difficulty that was made upon the registering the taxes, determined the king to come and reform the parliament of Paris by holding a bed of justice.

Tho' the ministry kept this measure a profound secret, still it transpired to the public. The king was received in Paris with a melancholy silence: the public

consider parliaments only as the enemies of taxes, and never examine if these taxes are necessary ; nor even make the reflection, that they sell their labour and merchandizes in proportion to them, and that the burthen falls upon the rich, who consequently are the first to complain, and to encourage the murmurs of the populace.

In this war, the English had been loaded with taxes more than the French ; but that people tax themselves, and know how to reimburse themselves for their public loans. France is taxed, and never knows upon what shall be assigned the funds destined for the payment of their loans. In England, the public taxes are not farmed to individuals, who enrich themselves at the nation's expence ; but this is the case

in

in France. The parliaments of France have always made remonstrances to the king against this abuse ; but there are times when these remonstrances, and particularly making difficulties about in-registering, are more dangerous than the taxes themselves, because a war demands present succour, and the abuses of these supplies cannot be corrected, perhaps, but with length of time.

The king came to parliament, and ordered an edict to be read, by which he suppressed two chambers of this body, and several officers. Ordered, that the bull Unigenitus should be respected, and forbid the secular judges to order the administration of the sacrament permitting them only to judge of abuses and offences committed in administering them ; he enjoined the  
bishops

bishops to prescribe to all their ministers, discretion and moderation, and recommended that all past quarrels should be buried in oblivion. He ordered that no counsellor should have a deliberate voice before he was twenty-five years of age; and that no one could vote in the assembly of the chambers 'till he had served ten years; and, finally, made the most express "inhibitions against interrupting, under any pretence whatever, the ordinary business."

The chancellor but these orders to the vote for form's sake; but the parliament kept a profound silence: the king then said, he would be obeyed, and that "he would punish whoever dared to swerve from his duty."

The



The next day fifteen counsellors of the great chamber lodged their resignation at the office. Four hundred and twenty members of parliament soon followed their example, and universal murmurings prevailed throughout the city.

Among such a number of disputes which occasioned a general fermentation in the midst of a horrid war, and in this confused state of the finances, which rendered this war still more dangerous, and irritated the animosity of the male-contents; in short, amidst the thorns of division sown on all sides between the magistrates and clergy: in the midst of this general uproar it was very difficult to do any good, and it remained only to prevent the execution of much evil.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*An Attempt against the King's Person.*

THESE emotions of the people were soon buried in a general consternation, occasioned by the most horrid and unforeseen accident. The king was assassinated in the court of Versailles on the 5th of January in the presence of his son, and in the midst of his guards and the great officers of the crown. The following is an account of this strange event :

A miserable wretch, of the dregs of the people, named Robert Francois Damiens, born in a village near Arras, had been a considerable time a servant in several houses in Paris ;  
he

he was a man whose gloomy and fiery disposition had always bordered upon madness :

The general murmurs that he had heard in all public places ; in the grand hall of the palace, and elsewhere, heated his imagination. He went to Versailles like a distracted person, and in those agitations, which his inconceivable design threw him into, he desired to be blooded at his inn. Physic has so great an influence over the souls of men, that he protested afterwards in his interrogatories, “ that  
“ if his request had been complied  
“ with, viz. bleeding, he should not  
“ have committed the crime.”

His design was the most unheard-of that ever entered the head of a monster of this specie ; he did not want

to

to kill the king, as in effect he declared since, and as unfortunately he could have done ; but he was resolved to wound him, and this is in reality what he declared in his criminal prosecution before the parliament.

“ I had not the intention of killing  
 “ the king : I could have done it,  
 “ had I had the inclination ; I only  
 “ wounded him that God might touch  
 “ him, and incline him to re-establish  
 “ all things in order, and restore the  
 “ tranquillity of his dominions ; and  
 “ the archbishop of Paris is the sole  
 “ cause of all these troubles.”

This idea had inflamed his head to such a degree, that in another interrogation he said :

“ I have

“ I have nominated counsellors to  
 “ parliament, because I have served  
 “ one, and because almost all men are  
 “ enraged at the conduct of my lord  
 “ the archbishop.” In a word, fanaticism had troubled the mind of this unfortunate man to such a point, that in the interrogatories he underwent at Versailles are found these his own words:

“ Being interrogated what motives  
 “ had excited him to assassinate the  
 “ king’s person, he replied, That it  
 “ was for the cause of religion.”

All the assassins of Christian princes have urged this cause: the king of Portugal had not been assassinated but by virtue of the decision of three Jesuits. It is very well known that Henry III. and IV. of France, perished

by



by the hands of fanaticks; but with this difference, they lost their lives because they appeared to be enemies of the pope, and Louis XV. was assassinated because he seemed to be too obliging towards him.

The assassin was furnished with a spring-knife, at one end carrying a long sharp-pointed blade, and at the other a penknife about four inches in length. He waited for the moment when the king should step into his coach to go to Trianon. It was near six in the evening; the day was cloudy, and exceeding cold; almost all the courtiers wore cloaks, which, by corruption, are called Redingottes. Damiens thus dressed, proceeded towards the guards, and, in passing, hurt the Dauphin; he then forced across the arms of the  
gardes

gardes du corps and one hundred Swifs, accosted the king and stabbed him with a penknife in the fifth rib, then put his knife into his pocket again, and remained with his hat upon his head. The king, finding himself wounded, turned about, and espying this stranger who was covered, and whose eyes stared wildly, he said, " That is the man " who stabbed me, arrest him, but do " him no harm."

Whilst every one was seized with fright and horror; the king carried in to his bed; surgeons fought, and it was uncertain whether his wound was mortal or not, or whether the knife was empoisoned; the parricide often repeated, " Let them take care of Monseigneur " le Dauphin, that he does not go out " the whole day."

At these words the universal alarm redoubled; it was doubted not that there was a conspiracy against the royal family; every one figured to himself the greatest dangers, the greatest and most premeditated crimes.

Happily, the king's wound was but slight; but the general trouble was considerable; and fears, suspicions and intrigues multiplied at court. The grand provost of the household to whom the punishment of crimes, committed in the king's palace, belongs, immediately seized the villain, and commenced the proceedings in form, as practised at St. Cloud on the assassination of Henry III. An exempt of the provost's guard having obtained a little confidence, either seeming or real, in the alienated mind of  
this

this miserable wretch, engaged him to be so hardy as to write a letter to the king †. Damiens write to the king! An assassins write to him whom he had assassinated!

Z 2

His

† SIR, “ I am very sorry \* I had the  
“ misfortune to assault you; but if you  
“ do not take your people’s part, before  
“ some years have expired, you and Mon-  
“ sieur le Dauphin, and some others, will  
“ perish: it will be a pity that so good a  
“ prince, for the kindness he has for ecclesi-  
“ astics, in whom he places all his confidence,  
“ should not be sure of his life; and if you  
“ have not the goodness to remedy it in a  
“ little time, very great misfortunes will  
“ arise; your kingdom not being in  
“ surety; unhappily for you, your subjects  
“ have

\* This letter is found in page sixty-nine of the process against Damiens, given to the public by the criminal register of the parliament, by permission of his superiors.

His letter is ridiculous, and conformable to the abjectness of his state; but it discovers the object of his  
fury:

“ have given you up, the affair comes  
 “ only from the clergy, and if you have  
 “ not the goodness for your people, to  
 “ order the administration of the sacra-  
 “ ments at the time of death, they having  
 “ refused it since your sitting in justice;  
 “ and also, the chatelet having sold the  
 “ moveables of the priest who fled; I  
 “ repeat it to you, your life is not in  
 “ safety; I speak from good authority,  
 “ and I take the liberty of informing  
 “ you of it, by the officer who brings  
 “ you this, and in whom I have placed  
 “ all my confidence. The archbishop  
 “ of Paris is the cause of all this trou-  
 “ ble, by his ordering the sacraments to  
 “ be refused. After the cruel crime that  
 “ I have committed against your sacred  
 “ person,



fury: in it is seen, that the public complaints against the archbishop had turned the criminal's brain, and

Z 3

excited

“ person, the sincere confession I take the  
“ liberty of making to you, gives me hope  
“ that I shall receive the goodness of your  
“ majesty's clemency.

“ Signed,

DAMIENS.”

At the back of the said letter is written, flourished, *ne varietur*, agreeable to, and at the desire of the interrogator of Francis Damiens, dated the 9th day of January 1757 at Versailles, present, the king.

Signed,

DAMIENS.

The clerks Du Brillet and Duvoigne, with flourishes.

And lower down is written:

To the king.

Then follows the tenor of a writing;

Signed,

DAMIENS.

Copy

excited him to his vile attempt. He appeared by the names of the members of parliament, cited in his letter, that he knew them by serving one of their brethren ; but it would have

Copy of the billet,

Messieurs,

Chagrange, second,

Baiffe de Lisse\*,

De la Guiomye,

Clément,

Lambert,

The president de Rieux Bonnainvilliers,

President de Maffy, and almost all.

It is necessary that the king re-establish his parliament, and support them, with a promise of doing nothing to these above-mentioned and their company.

Signed,

DAMIENS.

And

\* This wretch, mangled the names of almost all of whom he spoke.

have been absurd to suppose that they had explained their sentiments to him, and much less that they had ever told him, or even dropped a word to encourage the crime.

So the king did not hesitate to refer his punishment to those of the grand chamber, who had not resigned. He insisted even that the princes and peers should, by their presence, add more authenticity and solemnity, in all points to the trial, in the eyes of the public,

Z 4                      who

And further is written.

Flourished, *ne varietur*, agreeable to, and at the desire of the interrogator of this day, being the 9th of January 1757.

Signed, DAMIENS.

The clerks Du Brillet and Duvoigne, with a flourish.

The said letter.

who are as suspicious, as curious exaggerators, and who always see, in these frightful adventures, beyond the truth. Never, in effect, did truth appear more clearly.

It is evident, that this mad fellow had no accomplice; he always declared he did not think of killing the king; but that he had formed the design to wound him ever since the banishment of the parliament.

Directly, upon the first interrogation, he said, "That religion alone had determined him upon this attempt."

He acknowledged that he only spoke bad of the Molinists, and those who refused the sacraments; and that these people, the Molinists, apparently believe in two Gods.

He

He cried out on the torture, " I  
" thought I should have done a me-  
" ritorious work for heaven ; and  
" it is what I heard said by all the  
" priests in the palace." He con-  
stantly persisted in saying that it  
was the archbishop of Paris, the re-  
fusal of the sacraments, and the dis-  
graces of the parliament, that had  
stirred him to this act of parricide ;  
he declared the same again to his con-  
fessors. This unfortunate man was  
no more than a foolish fanatic, less  
abominable, in fact, than Ravillac and  
John Chatel, but more mad, having  
more accomplices than those two furies  
had. The common accomplices for  
these monsters are fanatics, whose  
heated brains light up, without know-  
ing it, a fire in weak desperate-hard-  
dened



hardened minds : a few words dropped by chance is sufficient to set them in flames. Damiens acted under the same illusion as Ravillac, and died in the same torments.

Such is the effect of fanaticism and the destiny of kings. Henry III. and IV. were assassinated because they supported their rights against the clergy ; and Louis XV. because he was reproached with using too little severity against one : behold three kings, upon whom the hands of parricides have fallen, in a country renowned for the love of its sovereigns !

The father, wife and daughter of Damiens, although innocent, were banished the kingdom, with a prohibition against returning under pain of death ; and by the same sentence they were  
obliged

obliged to quit their name of Damiens, which was become execrable.

This event occasioned those, who by their unhappy ecclesiastical quarrels had been the cause of this great crime, to return for some time to their senses. It is too evidently seen what a dogmatical spirit, and the bigotry of religion can produce. No one could have imagined that a bull, and tickets of confession could have such horrible events; but so it is, that the foibles and fury of mankind are closely united. The spirits of Poltrot, and James Clement, which were reputed to be annihilated, still subsist in the souls of the ignorant and ferocious. Reason in vain guides the principal citizens; the populace are always inclined to fanaticism; and perhaps there is no other remedy to  
this

this contagion, than to enlighten, in the end, even the populace; but, instead of that, they educated in superstition, and afterwards men are astonished at the consequences of it.

In the mean time, sixteen counsellors, who had resigned were sent into exile; and one of them \* who had been clerk, and afterwards was made counsellor of honour, celebrated for his patriotic principles and eloquence, established a perpetual mass, to return God thanks for having preserved the life of that king who banished him.

Many officers of the parliament of Ben-fancon were confined in different towns for having refused to register the second twentieth penny, and giving a decree against the intendant of the province.

His

\* L'abbé de Chauvelin.

His majesty, notwithstanding the wicked attempt made upon his person, and in spite of a ruinous war, constantly and carefully employed himself in stifling the quarrels of his parliament and clergy, endeavouring to contain each power in its proper limits, banishing the archbishop of Paris once more for having acted contrary to his laws in the election of the superior of a convent. He afterwards re-called this prelate, still rendering his resolution the more respectable by his moderation. At length the affairs even of the parliament of Paris were accommodated; the members of this body, who had resigned, resumed their posts and functions; and every thing promised tranquillity at home, 'till false zeal, and the spirit of party should occasion fresh troubles.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*The Assassination of the King of PORTUGAL. The Expulsion of the Jesuits from thence, and afterwards from FRANCE.*

A RELIGIOUS order ought not to make any part of a history. No historian of antiquity has entered into a detail of the establishments of the priests of either Cybele or Junon. 'Tis one of the misfortunes of our European police, that the Monks, destined to ignorance by their institution, have caused as much confusion as its princes, either by their immense riches, or the troubles they have excited ever since their institution.

It



It is well known, that the jesuits were the actual sovereigns of Paraguay, while they acknowledged the king of Spain for its master. The Spanish court had, by a treaty of exchange, ceded certain districts of these lands to king Joseph of Portugal, of the house of Braganza, who accused the jesuits of having opposed this cedure, and caused the people to revolt, who ought to have submitted to the government of the Portuguese. This, joined to a number of other injuries, occasioned the jesuits to be driven from the court of Lisbon.

Some time after, the Tavora family, and particularly the duke d'Aveiro, uncle to the young countess Ataïde d'Atouguia; the old marquis and marchioness of Tavora, the parents of the young countess, and, in short, count

Ataïde

Ataïde her husband, and one of this unfortunate lady's brothers, imagining that they had received from the king an irreparable injury, resolved to revenge themselves—vengeance and superstition are mutually linked. The mediators of a wicked attempt will always seek casuists and confessors to encourage them in their villany; and this family thinking themselves thus abused, concerted with three jesuits, viz. Malagrida, Alexander and Mathos: these casuists declared, that to take away the life of the king was only committing a sin, which they termed venial.

To understand this decision more clearly, it is necessary we should know that the casuists make a distinction between the sins which lead to hell, and those

those which conduct us to purgatory for a certain time; between the sins that the absolution of a priest can forgive, either by the means of prayer, or the distribution of alms, and those which are pardoned without any satisfaction. The first are considered as mortal, the latter venial.

Auricular confession occasioned a parricide in Portugal as it had done in other countries. What was introduced as an expiation of crimes, has been the means of committing them. Such is, as we have often remarked in this history, the deplorable condition of humanity.

The conspirators, furnished with their pardon for the other world, waited the king's return to Lisbon from a little country-house, alone, without dome-

tics, and in the night; they fired into his coach and dangerously wounded him.

All the accomplices except one domestic, were seized. Some perished by the wheel, and the others were beheaded. The countess d'Ataïde, whose husband was executed, went, by order of the king, to bewail in a convent those horrible misfortunes which she was thought to be the cause of. The jesuits alone, who had advised and authorised this assassination, by the means of confession (means as dangerous as they are sacred) at that time escaped punishment.

Portugal, not having then received that intellectual knowledge which had opened the eyes of so many European kingdoms, was under greater submission  
to

to the pope than any other state. The king was not permitted to condemn to death, by his judges, a monk guilty of a parricide, without the consent of Rome. Other nations were in the eighteenth, but the Portuguese seemed to be still in the twelfth century.

Posterity will scarcely believe that the king of Portugal solicited Rome upwards of a whole year, for permission to try the jesuits though they were his subjects, and could not obtain it. The courts of Lisbon and Rome were, for a long time, at open variance, and every body flattered themselves that Portugal would shake off a yoke that England, her ally and protectress, had so long trampled under foot; but the Portuguese minister had



too many enemies to dare to undertake what the court of London had executed; however, his conduct exprefs'd both a great resolution and an extreme condescension.

The jesuits, who were most culpable, were imprisoned in Lisbon, where the king let them remain, and took this occasion to send to Rome all the jesuits of his dominions, afterwards declaring them for ever banished his kingdom; but yet dared not to deliver up to death those three who were accused and convicted of the parricide. The king, was reduced to the expedient of delivering Malagrida to the inquisition, on suspicion of having formerly advanced some rash propositions, which bordered upon heresy.

The

The Dominicans, the Judges of the holy office, and assistants to the grand Inquisitor, were never well affected towards the jesuits, and paid more obedience to the king of Portugal than they did to Rome. These monks discovered a little book of the “ heroic life of “ St. Ann, mother of Mary, dictated to “ the reverend father Malagrida by St. “ Ann herself.” She declared to him that she had experienced the immaculate conception as well as her daughter, that she had spoken and cried in her mother’s womb, and also that she had made the Cherubins weep. All the writings of Malagrida were of a piece with this ; besides, he had made predictions, and performed miracles, and that of experiencing nocturnal pollutions in his prison at the age of seventy-five was not one

of the least. With all this he was reproached in his process; upon which he was condemned to the flames, without their even mentioning the assassination of the king, because that was a fault against a secular only, and the other offences were against God: thus excess of, ridicule and absurdity were joined to the extremity of horror. He was brought to judgment as a prophet, and burnt for being a madman only, and not for attempting the king's life.

Whilst the jesuits were driven from Portugal, this adventure roused the hatred that France bore towards them, where they were always powerful and detested. It happened that one of their order, named la Valette, chief of the missionaries at Guadaloupe, and the greatest merchant in the island, became

became a bankrupt for upwards of three millions. Every one who was interested, complained to the parliament of Paris : they now thought they had discovered that the general of the order, resident at Rome, had managed the wealth of the society in a despotic manner ; and the parliament decreed that the president and the whole society of jesuits should discharge the debt of la Valette.

This process, which excited the hatred of France against the jesuits, induced them to examine this singular institution, which rendered an Italian General absolute master over the persons and fortunes of a French society. They were surprised to find, that the order of jesuits was never formally received in France by the major part of the French parliaments ; they exa-

mined their constitutions, and every parliament found them incompatible with the laws. They then recollected all the ancient complaints which were made against this order, and upwards of fifty volumes of their theological decisions affecting the safety of the lives of kings. The jesuits defended themselves only by saying, " That the Jacobins and St. Thomas had writ as much." By this they had only discovered that the Jacobins were as reprehensible as themselves. With respect to Thomas d'Aquin, he is canonized ; but in his ultramontaine summary there are decisions that the parliaments of France would burn upon his feast-day, if they were made use of, to disturb the peace of the kingdom. As he in many places declares, that the church  
has



## LOUIS XV.

has a right to depose a prince who is an infidel to it; so in this case he gives sanction to parricide.—By such maxims as these, one may gain paradise and the gallows!

The king condescended to intermeddle in the affair of the jesuits, and endeavoured to pacify this quarrel as he had done others. He was desirous of reforming, in a parental manner, the French jesuits; but it is said, that Clement XIII. then pope, declared, that they must either continue as they were, or not exist at all; and this answer from the pope was their ruin. They were again reproached with carrying on secret assemblies: the king then abandoned them to his parliaments, who all, one after

after another, deprived them of their colleges and their estates.

The parliaments condemned them upon some rules only of their institution, which the king might have altered; horrible maxims it is true, but such as were despised, and for the most part published by foreign jesuits, and lately formally disavowed by the French jesuits.

In all important affairs there is an avowed pretext, and a concealed reason. The pretext for the punishment of the jesuits, was the pretended dangers which might arise from their pernicious books, which nobody read: the true cause was the credit which they had so long abused. In this enlightened and moderate age, it happened to them as it befel the Templars  
in

in a time of ignorance and barbarism : pride ruined them both ; but the jesuits were treated in their disgrace with mildness, and the Templars with cruelty. At last, the king, by a solemn edict in 1764, totally abolished this order, which always had persons worthy of esteem belonging to it, but more incendiaries, and which was, during the space of two hundred years, a subject of discord.

It was neither Sanchez, Lessius, nor Escobar, nor the absurdities of casuists, which ruined the jesuits ; it was le Tellier ; it was the bull that was the reason of their extirpation throughout almost all France. The plough, that the jesuit le Tellier passed over the ruins of Port-Royal, has produced, at the end of sixty years those fruits which  
they

## T H E A G E O F

they now reap. The persecutions that this violent and subtle man had excited against an obstinate people, rendered the jesuits execrable to France : a memorable example, but which will not correct the confessor of any monarch, when he is (what almost all courtiers are) ambitious and intriguing, and when he directs the conscience of a prince of small understanding, weakened by old age.

The order of jesuits was afterwards driven from all the dominions of the king of Spain, in Europe, Asia, and America; from the Sicilies, Parma, and Malta : an evident proof that they were not such great politicians as was generally believed. The monks were never powerful but by the blindness of mankind ; but in this age their eyes  
begin

begin to be opened. What was remarkably strange in their almost universal overthrow, is, that in Portugal they were banished for having degenerated from their institution; and in France, for having been too conformable to it. The reason is, that the Portuguese did not dare to examine into an institution consecrated by the popes, and the French stood not in so much awe of their authority. The result on the whole is, that a religious order that could excite the hatred of so many nations, must certainly have deserved it.



## CHAP. XXXIX.

*Of the Progress of the human Understanding in the Age of LOUIS XV.*

A WHOLE order abolished by the secular power, the discipline of others reformed by this power, the divisions also between the magistracy and the episcopal authority, plainly discovers how much prejudices are dissipated, how far the knowledge of government is extended, and to what degree our understandings are enlightened. The seeds of this knowledge were sown in the last century; in the present, they are every where sprung up, even in the remotest provinces, with that true eloquence which was scarce known but  
at

at Paris, but which has suddenly flourished in many country towns ; witness the discourses \* that have been delivered both from the bar, and the assembly chambers of some parliaments ; discourses which are the master-pieces of sentiment and expression ; at least in many respects. Since the times of the Daguesseaus, the only models were in the capital, and very rare. A superior reason has extended itself in our days, from the foot of the Pyrenean hills to the north of France. Philosophy, by rendering the mind more just, and banishing the absurdities of far-fetched conceits, has made

\* See the discourses of M. de Montclar, la Chalotais, de Castillon, de Servant, and others.

made more than one province the competitors of the capital.

In general, the bar has best understood that universal jurisprudence, drawn from nature, which raises itself above all the laws of convention, or of simple authority: laws, often dictated by caprice, or through the force of money; dangerous resources rather than useful laws, which are continually jarring, and rather forming a chaos than parts of a legislation.

The academies have been extremely serviceable, by accustoming young gentlemen to reading; and exciting, by premiums, their genius by emulation.

Pure natural philosophy has illustrated the necessary arts; and these arts have already began to heal the wounds

wounds of the state, caused by two fatal wars. Stuffs manufactured in a cheaper manner, by the ingenuity of one of the most celebrated mechanics.

\* An academician, still more useful by † the objects that he has embraced, has brought agriculture to a much greater perfection; and a discerning minister has at last permitted the exportation of corn; a necessary commerce forbid too long a time, and which ought to be limited as well as encouraged.

Another academician ‡ has shewn the most advantageous means of furnishing the inhabitants of Paris with water, which hitherto had failed them;

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\* Mr. Vaucanson. † Mr. Duhamel. ‡ Mr. Deparcieux.

a project which can only be rejected either through poverty, negligence or avarice.

A physician \* has at last found out the secret, so long time sought for, of making sea-water potable. He need do no more than to render his experiment so easy, that it may at all times be profited by without too much expence.

If any invention can supply the want of knowledge of the longitude, which is refused us, it is that of the most ingenious watchmaker of France, † who disputes this invention with England. But we must wait 'till time puts her seal to all these discoveries: there is not an invention but has its utility and inconveniencies; a discovery which can  
be

\* Mr. Poissonnier. † Mr. le Roi.



be disputed, or an opinion which may be contended, as those great monuments of the fine arts in poetry, eloquence, music, architecture, sculpture and painting, which at once engaged the approbation of the whole world, and injured that posterity, by an éclat, which nothing can obscure.

We have already spoken of the celebrated repository of human knowledge, which has appeared under the title of the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*. It is an everlasting honour to the nation, that the officers, both of sea and land, ancient magistrates, physicians well skilled in nature, the truly learned, although nominal, doctors, men of letters, whose taste has refined their knowledge; geometricians and physicians have all contributed to this work, as useful as it is

difficult, without any view of interest, without even seeking after fame, since many of the authors keep their names a secret: in short, without communicating their intelligences together, and consequently exempt from the spirit of party.

But what is yet more honourable for the country is, that in this immense collection, its beauties triumph over its imperfections, which has not before happened. The persecutions that it has undergone are not altogether so honourable for France: the same unfortunate spirit of forms, mixed with pride, envy and ignorance, which occasioned the suppression of the art of printing in the time of Louis XI. public spectacles in the reign of Henry IV. the beginnings of sound  
philos-

philosophy under Louis XIII. and even emeticks and inoculation : this same spirit, I say, an enemy to all instruction, and to every thing that can advance our knowledge, gave almost mortal strokes to this memorable undertaking : it has even been the means of rendering it not so good as it should have been, in putting on those shackles with which reason must never be confined, because temerity, and not discreet boldness, should be reprov'd, without which the human understanding can never make any progress. It is certain, that the knowledge of nature, and the disbelief of the ancient fables honoured with the name of history ; sound metaphysics, freed from the impertinences of the schools, are the produce of this age, and human reason is greatly improved. It

It is true, that all undertakings have not been equally fortunate : voyages to the end of the world to confirm a truth that Newton has demonstrated in his closet, have left doubts upon the exactness of measures. The experiment of rough iron, forged or converted into steel; that of breeding animals, in the Egyptian manner, in climates very different from Egypt, and many other efforts of the like nature have been the means of losing much precious time, and even ruined some families. Too hazardous systems have disgraced those works which would have been very useful : a reliance has been made on deceitful experiments, to revive the ancient error that animals could be produced without feed ; from thence issued imaginations

ginations more chimerical than those of the animals. Some have pushed the mistake of Newton's discovery upon attraction, even so far as to say that infants are formed in their mothers womb by attraction; others have invented the organical *moleculæ*, and have carried themselves so far in their vain ideas, as to pretend that mountains have been formed by the sea; there would be as much truth in saying, that the seas have been formed by mountains.

Who could believe that geometers have been wild enough to imagine that in the exaltation of the soul, we may possess the gift of divination; yet more than one philosopher, as I have already remarked, took it into their heads, by the example of Descartes, to put themselves



selves in God's place, and create a world with their word; but now, all these philosophical follies are reprov'd by the wise, and even these fantastical edifices, overthrown by reason, have left in their ruins; materials, of which reason has made some use.—A like extravagance has infected the moral world. There have been seen understandings so blind as to undermine the very foundation of society, at the time they thought to reform it. They have been mad enough to maintain, that the distinctions of *meum & tuum* are criminal, and that one ought not to enjoy the fruits of one's own labour; that not only all mankind are upon a level, but that they have perverted the order of nature, in forming societies; that men are born to be separated from each other like wild beasts,

beasts, and that amphibious animals, with bees and ants confound the eternal laws by living in common.

These impertinences, worthy of a hospital of madmen, have been for some time in fashion, as it is customary to lead apes to dance in fairs.

Theology has not been screened from these excesses: works, whose nature is to be edifying, are become defamatory libels, and have even experienced the severity of parliaments, and ought to be condemned by all academics for the vileness of their composition.

More than one such abuse seems to have infested literature; a crowd of writers have wandered into a laboured stile, either violent, unintelligible, or a total neglect of all grammar: ab-

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furdity has been carried so far as to ridicule Tacitus : much has been written in this age, but genius belonged to the last. The French language was carried in the time of Louis XIV. to the highest point of perfection among all ranks ; not in using terms either new or unuseful, but in employing with art all the necessary words which were in use. It is at present to be feared, that this fine language will degenerate, in consequence of that unfortunate facility in writing which the last age consigned to posterity ; for models produced a crowd of imitators, and these imitators always endeavour to gain by verbosity, what they want in genius : the language which they cannot embellish, they disfigure. France was particularly distinguished in the

flou-

flourishing reign of Louis XIV. by the singular perfection to which Racine raised the theatre, and by the excellency of style, which he brought to such a degree of elegance and purity, as had been before his time entirely unknown. Notwithstanding, after him, writings were applauded, as barbarous as they were ridiculous in their construction.

It is against this decay, that the French academy has been continually jarring; it preserves good taste from total ruin, by agreeing to bestow rewards upon such pieces only as are written at least with some degree of purity, and in reproofing such as offend in point style. However, literature, although often corrupted, employs almost all the youth who are well brought

brought up; it has even spread into those classes of life which were ignorant of it. It is to this academy we are indebted for the banishment of gross debaucheries, and the preservation of the politeness introduced into this nation by Louis XIV. and his mother.

This literary knowledge, useful in all its conditions of life, soothes public calamities, by directing the mind to agreeable objects which would otherwise be too much depressed by the contemplation of human miseries.



*The* E N D.



